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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

SLAVERY AND THE AMERICAN BOARD.

[The readers of The Standard will remember that the question of slavery came up before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at the annual meeting last year, in connection with certain enactments of the Choctaw Council, affecting the schools under the care of the Missionaries of the Board. The Missionaries determined, with the concurrence of the Board, that they could not comply with the conditions imposed by the Council, and rather than do so would relinquish the schools. The Board, at the meeting above referred to, passed resolutions sanctioning the course of the Missionaries. Half-and-half anti-slavery members of the Board exulted over this action as placing that body on satisfactory ground in respect to slavery, while the more inveterate of the pro-slavery men were not a little vexed that their pet institution, which they had laboured so skilfully to preserve from all taint of fanaticism, had taken a position which *seemed* at first view to be anti-slavery. Disputes and bickerings sprang up between these parties, the *New York Observer* leading off in opposition to the action of the Board. Contradictory reports were circulated as to the opinions and feelings of the Missionaries themselves, and the whole matter got into such a state of entanglement, that one of the Secretaries of the Board, the Rev. George W. Wood, of New York, was sent, during the last year, on a special embassy to the Mission, to set things to rights. The report of Mr. Wood was submitted to the Board, at its meeting in Utica, on the 12th inst. From this report it appears, that the new Choctaw laws have never been enforced, and the Missionaries believe that even if they are not repealed they will be a dead letter. The schools are therefore going on just as they were before the said laws were passed. We give below such extracts from Mr. Wood's report and the proceedings thereon as will enable our readers to understand the position of the Board and of the Missionaries.—Eds. Standard.]

STATEMENT OF FACTS.

In the year 1842, the Choctaw Council, by law, placed four female seminaries "under the direction and management of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," subject only to "the conditions, limitations and restrictions rendered in the act." In accordance with the act, a contract was entered into, by which the schools were taken for a period of twenty years. The "conditions, limitations and restrictions" specified in the act and contract, so far as they bind the Board, are the following: 1. The superintendents and teachers, with their families, shall board at the same table with the pupils. 2. In addition to letters, the pupils shall be taught housewifery and sewing. 3. One-tenth of the pupils are to be orphans, should so many apply for admission. 4. The Board shall appropriate to the schools a sum equal to one-sixth of the moneys appropriated by the Choctaw Council. With these exceptions, the "direction and management" of the schools were to be as exclusively with the Board as of any school supported by the funds of the Board.

Thus the schools were carried forward until 1853. At the meeting of the Council in that year, a new school law, containing several provisions (and sometimes spoken of in the plural as "laws"), was enacted, bringing the Board, through its agents, under new "conditions, restrictions and limitations." A Board of Trustees was established, and a general Superintendent of Schools provided for, to discharge various specified duties, for the faithful performance of which they are to give bonds in the sum of $5,000. The enactments of this law, affecting the agents of the Board under the existing contract, are the following:

1. The Board of Trustees, convened by the General Superintendent, are to hear and determine difficulties between a trustee and any one connected with the schools; to judge of the fitness of teachers, etc., and request the Missionary Boards to remove any whose removal they may think called for; and, in case of neglect to comply with their wishes, to report the same to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, through the United States Agent. Section 5.

2. The Trustees are to select the scholars from their several districts. Section 7.

3. No slave or child of a slave is to be taught to read or write "*in* or *at* any school," etc., by any one connected in any capacity therewith, on pain of dismissal and expulsion from the nation. Section 8.

4. Annual examinations are to take place at times designated by the General Superintendent. Section 10.

5. The Trustees are empowered to suspend any school in case of sickness or epidemics. Section 11.

6. It is made the duty of the General Superintendent and Trustees promptly to remove, or report for removal, any and all persons connected with the public schools or academies known to be Abolitionists, or who disseminate, or attempt to disseminate, directly or indirecty, Abolition doctrines, or any other fanatical sentiments, which, in their opinion, are dangerous to the peace and safety of the Choctaw people. Section 13.

By a separate act, the Board of Trustees was authorized to propose to the Missionary Boards, having schools under contract with the Nation, the insertion of a clause providing for a termination of the contract by either party on giving six months' notice.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE MISSIONARIES.

[Mr. Wood held consultation with the Missionaries, who united in adopting the following platform of principles and policy.]

1. Slavery, as a system, and in its own proper nature, is what it is described to be, in the the General Assembly's Act of 1818, and in the Report of the American Board adopted at Brooklyn in 1845.

2. Privation of liberty in holding slaves is, therefore, not to be ranked with things indifferent, but with those which, if not made right by special justificatory circumstances and the intention of the doer, are morally wrong.

3. Those are to be admitted to the communion of the church of whom the missionary and (in Presbyterian churches) his session have satisfactory evidence that they are in fellowship with Christ.

4. The evidence, in one view of it, of fellowship with Christ, is a manifest desire and aim to be conformed, in all things, to the spirit and requirements of the Word of God.

5. Such desire and aim are to be looked for in reference to slavery, slaveholding and dealing with slaves, as in regard to other matters; not less, not more.

6. The missionary must, under a solemn sense of responsibility to Christ, act on his own judgment of that evidence when obtained, and on the manner of obtaining it. He is at liberty to pursue that course which he may deem most discreet in eliciting views and feelings as to slavery, as with respect to other things, right views and feelings concerning which he seeks as evidence of Christian character.

7. The missionary is responsible not for correct views and action on the part of his session and church members, but only for an honest and proper endeavour to secure correctness of views and action under the same obligations and limitations on this subject as on others. He is to go only to the extent of his rights and responsibilities as a minister of Christ.

8. The missionary, in the exercise of a wise discretion as to time, place, manner and amount of instruction, is decidedly to discountenance indulgence in known sin and the neglect of known duty, and so to instruct his hearers that they may understand all Christian duty. With that wisdom which is profitable to direct, he is to exhibit the legitimate bearing of the Gospel upon every moral evil, in order to its removal in the most desirable way; and upon slavery, as upon other moral evils. As a missionary, he has nothing to do with political questions and agitations. He is to deal alone, and as a Christian instructor and pastor, with what is morally wrong, that the people of God may separate themselves therefrom, and a right standard of moral action be held up before the world.

9. While, as in war, there can be no shedding of blood without sin somewhere attached, and yet the individual soldier may not be guilty of it; so, while slavery is always sinful, we cannot esteem every one who is legally a slaveholder a wrong-doer for sustaining the legal relation. When it is made unavoidable by the laws of the State, the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, it is not to be deemed an offence against the rule of Christian right. Yet, missionaries are carefully to guard, and in the proper way to warn others to guard, against unduly extending this plea of necessity or the good of the slave, against making it a cover for the love and practice of slavery, or a pretence for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish this evil.

10. Missionaries are to enjoin upon all masters and servants obedience to the directions especially addressed to them in the Holy Scriptures, and to explain and illustrate the precepts containing them.

11. In the exercise of discipline in the churches, under the same obligations and limitations as in regard to other acts of wrong-doing, and which are recognised in the action of ministers with reference to other matters in evangelical churches where slavery does not exist, missionaries are to set their faces against all overt acts, in relation to this subject, which are manifestly unchristian and sinful; such as the treatment of slaves with inhumanity and oppression; keeping from them the knowledge of God's holy will; disregarding the sanctity of the marriage relations; trifling with the affection of parents, and setting at naught the claims of children on their natural protectors; and regarding and treating human beings as articles of merchandise.

12. For various reasons, we agree in the inexpediency of our employing slave labour in other cases than those of manifest necessity; it being understood that the objection of the Prudential Committee to the employment of such labour is to that extent only.

13. Agreeing thus in essential principles, missionaries associated in the same field should exercise charity towards each other, and have confidence in one another, in respect to differences which, from diversity of judgment, temperament, or other individual peculiarities, and from difference of circumstances in which they are placed, may arise among them in the practical carrying out of these principles; and we think that this should be done by others towards us as a missionary body.

Resolved, That we agree in the foregoing as an expression of our views concerning our relations and duties as missionaries in regard to the subject treated of; and are happy to believe that, having this agreement with what we now understand to be the views of the Prudential Committee, we may have their confidence, as they have ours, in the continued prosecution together of the great work to which the great Head of the Church has called us amongst this people.

The statement thus approved was read throughout, and was afterwards considered in detail, each member of the mission expressing his views upon it as fully and keeping it under consideration as long as he desired to do. After the assent given to it, article by article, on the day following it was again read, and the question was taken upon it as a whole, with the appended resolution, each of the eight members giving his vote in favour of its adoption.

The Cherokee mission, in session at Park Hill, May 9, adopted a resolution of concurrence with the Choctaw mission in approving this statement.

SLAVERY IN THE MISSION CHURCHES.

Excluding two churches then connected with the mission of the Board, and since transferred to another mission, there were, in 1848, under the care of the American Board, in the Choctaw nation, six churches with a total membership of 535 persons; of whom 25 were slaveholders, and 64 were slaves. The churches are now 11 in number, containing 1,094 members; of whom, as nearly as I could ascertain, 20 are slaveholders (some of them being husband and wife, and generally having but one or two slaves each), and 60 are slaves. Six of the churches have no slaveholders in them; two have but one each. Of the slaveholders in these churches, four have been admitted since 1848; one by transfer from another denomination, and three on profession of their faith; none of the latter have been received since 1850. Statements were made to me respecting each of these latter cases, which show that the principles assented to by the mission at Good Water, as above presented, were practically carried out in regard to them.

In the Cherokee mission, in 1848, there were five churches, having 237 members, of whom 24 were slaveholders, and 23 were slaves. In the five churches now in that mission, there are 207 members; of whom 17 (there is uncertainty in regard to one of this number) are reported as slaveholders. Three have been admitted since 1848 on profession of their faith, and two by letter; one of the latter from a church in New Hampshire. Of these the same remark may be made as above in respect to similar cases among the Choctaws.

The Choctaw mission embraces eleven families and three large boarding schools. Five slaves, hired at their own desire, are in the employment of the missionaries. A less number are employed in the Cherokee mission. Gladly would the missionaries dispense with these, could the necessary amount of free labour for domestic service be obtained. Those who employ this slave labour allege that it is to them a matter of painful necessity. They are known to resort to it unwillingly, and are not regarded as thereby giving their sanction to slavery. Some thus employed have been brought to a saving knowledge of divine truth.

The sentiments of these two missions as to the moral character of slavery, and the principles on which they should act in regard to it, are frankly and unequivocally avowed. We are bound to believe them honest in the expression of these sentiments. It is their expectation that the principles, thus acknowledged as their own, will be those on which the missions will be conducted. The adjudication of particular cases must be left to the missionary. That it be so left is his right; it is also unavoidable. The position of the missionaries is one of great difficulty, and should be appreciated. That there is such a diversity of judgment among them, as men of independent thought and differing mental characteristics, who agree in essential principles, everywhere evince; and that they have, through a use of phraseology leading sometimes to a mutual misunderstanding of each other's views, supposed themselves to differ more widely than, in our conferences, they found themselves really to do, has been intimated. That none of them have sympathy with slavery; that, on the other hand, their influence is directly and strongly adverse to its continuance, while they are doing much in mitigation of its evils and to bless both master and slave, in the judgment of the deputation, is beyond a doubt. By many they are denounced as Abolitionists. Some of these slaveholding church members have left their churches for another connection on this account. Others have disconnected themselves from a system which they have learned to dislike and disapprove. Strong in the confidence and affection of many for whose salvation they have toiled and suffered, by the supporters of slavery, in and out of the nations, they undoubtedly are looked upon with growing suspicion. Surely we should not be willing needlessly to embarrass them in their blessed work. They are worthy of the confidence and warmest sympathy of every friend of the red man and of the black man. God is with them. In the Cherokee mission, the dispensation of His grace is not, indeed, now as in times past; and we have some serious apprehension in regard to the progress of the Gospel among that people. Still the divine presence is not wanting. Among the Choctaws rapid advance is making. Converts are multiplying; the fruits of the Gospel abound. Both missions need reinforcements.

ACTION OF THE BOARD.

Mr. Wood's report was submitted to a committee consisting of Dr. Beman, Dr. Thomas Smith, Dr. Hawes, Chief Justice Williams, Dr. S. A. Smith, Dr. Stearns and Hon. Linus Child, who reported as follows:

The Committee to whom was referred the document read by Rev. George W. Wood, one of the Secretaries of the Board, embodying the history and the results of his late deputation to the Choctaw and Cherokee Missions, would respectfully submit the following Report:

Your Committee have endeavoured to look at this paper in its intrinsic character and practical bearings, and they are happy to state their unanimous conviction that this visit will mark an auspicious era in the history of these Missions.

The Report of Mr. Wood is characterized by great clearness and precision, and it presents the whole matter pending between the Prudential Committee and these Missions fully before us. The conferences of the deputation with the missionaries appear to have been conducted in a truly Christian spirit, and the results which are set forth in the resolution adopted with much much deliberation, and, after full discussion, are such as we may all hail with Christian gratitude.

It is the opinion of your Committee that the great end which has been aimed at by the Prudential Committee, in their correspondence with these Missions for several years past, and by the Board in their resolutions adopted at the last annual meeting, has been substantially accomplished. While your Committee admit that there may be some incidental points on which an honest diversity of opinion may exist, yet they fully believe that this adjustment should be deemed satisfactory, and that farther agitation is not called for. While your Committee cannot take it upon themselves to predict what new developments, calling for new action hereafter, *may* take place, they are unanimously of the opinion that the Prudential Committee, and those laborious and efficient Missionaries on this field of Christian effort, may go forward, on the basis adopted, in perfect harmony in the prosecution of their future work.

Your Committee feel that the thanks of this Board are due to Mr. Wood and our missionary brethren, for the manner in which they have met, considered and adjusted these difficult matters which have long been in debate, and, at the same time, they would not forget that God is the source of all true light in our deepest darkness, and that *to Him all the glory is ever due.*

All which is respectfully submitted.

By the order of the Committee,

N. S. S. Beman, Chairman.

On motion, this Report was unanimously accepted, and adopted by the Board.

The President then rose, and stated that the day before, during the reading of Mr. Wood's Report, he had observed a gentleman in front of the platform, listening with marked attention, who, at the close, expressed his very great satisfaction with it. The gentleman, at the same time, asked if the Board were in want of money; and requested the President to say to the Treasurer, that he might draw on him for a thousand dollars. [This gentleman was understood to be George Douglas, Esq., of New York.]

The settlement of this vexed question was received with universal satisfaction; and the audience rose and joined in a hymn with feelings of the deepest gratitude.

FREE STATE CONVENTION IN KANSAS.

Condensed from The Kansas Herald of Freedom.

A large Convention of delegates, representing every portion of the Territory, was held at Big Springs, Kansas, Sept. 5th and 6th, to take the necessary steps for securing the defeat of the Atchison and Stringfellow party and the final adoption of a State Constitution prohibiting slavery. The Convention was organized as follows: President—G. W. Smith, Esq.; Vice-Presidents—John Fee, J. A. Wakefield, James Salsbury, Dr. A. Hunting; Secretaries—R. G. Elliott, D. Dodge, A. G. Adams. The spurious Legislature of Kansas was repudiated and treated with contempt, its infamous laws trampled upon and defied. In view of the illegality of the Legislature, the Convention determined to disregard the day which it appointed for election of Delegate to Congress, and it empowered an Executive Committee to issue a proclamation to the voters of the Territory to meet at their respective places of holding election on the second Tuesday of October, and vote for Delegate to Congress. So far as the circumstances will admit, this election will be held according to the usual forms of law, and certified returns will be made. A memorial to Congress will be drawn up and signed by every voter, setting forth the necessity of this unusual proceeding, and the delegate thus furnished with evidence that no other course was left to the citizens for the protection of their rights, and that he is the choice of a large majority of the voters, will apply for admission to the next House of Representatives. Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

Resolved, That the body of men who, for the last two months, have been passing laws for the people of our Territory, moved, counselled and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the Territory—that we repudiate their actions as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation and fraud unparalleled in the history of the Union, and worthy only of men unfitted for the duties and regardless of the responsibilities of Republicans.

Resolved, That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious Legislature—that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and that every freeman among us is at full liberty, consistently with all his obligations as a citizen and a man, to defy and resist them, if he chooses so to do.

Resolved, That we will resist them primarily by every peaceable and legal means within our power, until we can elect our own Representatives and sweep them from the statute-book; and that, as the majority of our Supreme Court have so far forgotten their official duty—have so far cast off the honour of the lawyer and the dignity of the judge—as to enter, clothed with the judicial ermine, into a partisan contest, and, by an extra judicial decision, given opinions in violation of all propriety, have prejudged our cause before we could be heard, and have pledged themselves to these outlaws in advance, to decide in their favour, we will therefore take measures to carry the question of the validity of these laws to a higher tribunal, where judges are unpledged and dispassionate, where the law will be administered in its purity, and where we can at least have the hearing before the decision.

Resolved, That we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the Territory require, as the least of two evils, and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail, and forcible resistance shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success; and that, in the meantime, we recommend to our friends throughout the Territory the organization and discipline of Volunteer Companies and the procurement and preparation of arms.

Resolved, That, setting aside all the minor issues of partisan politics, it is incumbent upon us to proffer an organization calculated to recover our dearest rights, and into which Democrats and Whigs, Natives and naturalized citizens, may freely enter without any sacrifice of their respective political creeds, but without forcing them as a test upon others; and that when we shall have achieved our political freedom, vindicated our rights of self-government, and become an independent State of the Union, when those issues may become vital as they are now dormant, it will be time enough to divide our organization by these tests, the importance of which we fully recognise in their appropriate sphere.

Resolved, That we will oppose and resist all non-resident voters at our polls, whether from Missouri or elsewhere, as a gross violation of our rights, and a virtual disfranchisement of our citizens.

Resolved, That our true interests, socially, morally and pecuniarily, require that Kansas should be a Free State; that free labour will best promote the happiness, the rapid population, the prosperity and the wealth of our people; that slave labour is a curse to the master and the community, if not to the slave; that our country is unsuited to it, and that we will devote our energies as a party to exclude the institution and to secure for Kansas the Constitution of a Free State.

Resolved, That, in so doing, we will consent to any fair and reasonable provision in regard to the slaves already in the Territory, which shall protect the masters against injustice and total loss.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that the admission of free negroes, or mulattoes, into the Territory or future State of Kansas, will be productive of evil among the people of Kansas, and dangerous to the institutions of our sister State; and that we will oppose their admission into the Territory or future State of Kansas now and forever.

Resolved, That the *stale* and ridiculous charge of Abolitionism, so industriously imputed to the Free State party, and so pertinaciously adhered to, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, is without a shadow of truth to support it; and that it is not more apparent to ourselves than it is to our opponents, who use it as a term of reproach to bring odium upon us, pretending to believe in its truth, and hoping to frighten from our ranks the weak and timid, who are more willing to desert their principles than they are to stand up under persecution and abuse with a consciousness of right.

Resolved, That we will discountenance and denounce any attempt to encroach upon the constitutional rights of the people of any State, or to interfere with their slaves, conceding to their citizens the right to regulate their own institutions, and to hold and recover their slaves, without any molestation or obstruction from the people of Kansas.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to wait upon the Hon. Wilson Shannon, Governor of Kansas, and present him with a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, to ask the aid of the Executive in putting the same into active operation.

After adopting the platform (a portion of which, it will be seen, is scandalously pro-slavery), the Convention proceeded to nominate a candidate for Delegate to Congress. Mr. Conway moved that Andrew H. Reeder, late Governor of Kansas, be our nominee. The motion was seconded and carried by acclamation. Cheer followed upon cheer the announcement of the result. All order was lost in the confusion, and every person present seemed to join in the cry for Reeder! Reeder!! The late Governor appeared upon the stand in answer to the repeated calls, and at the moment appeared deeply moved with this unexpected outburst of enthusiasm.

GOV. REEDER'S RESPONSE.

He proceeded to say how much he thanked them for their encouraging and strengthening friendship; that such applause and approval would repay all the injustice that might be heaped upon any man; that every man there would do him the justice to say that this nomination had been given entirely without solicitation by him or by his friends; that to accept it would seriously interfere with private engagements, and that he had continually refused it when urged, until he had been told by men from all parts of the Territory that his name was essential to success. He would now accept it upon the condition that he be not expected to canvass the Territory in person. To do so would not be consonant with his feelings, as well as that he desired to go into the halls of Congress and say "I come here with clean hands, the spontaneous choice of the sovereign squatters of Kansas." In giving him this nomination, in this manner, they had strengthened his arms to do their work; and in return he would now pledge to them a steady, unflinching pertinacity of purpose, never-tiring industry, dogged, perseverance, and all the abilities with which God had endowed him, to the righting of their wrongs, and the final triumph of their cause. He believed, from the circumstances which had for the last eight months surrrounded him, and which had at the same time placed in his possession many facts, and bound him heart and soul to the oppressed voters of Kansas, that he could do much toward obtaining a redress of their grievances.

He said that day by day a crisis was coming upon us; that in after times this would be to posterity a turning point, a marked period, as are to us the opening of the Revolution, the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and the era of the alien and sedition laws; that we should take each step carefully, so that each be a step of progress, and so that no violence be done to the tie which binds the American people together. He alluded to the unprecedented tyranny under which we are and have been; and said that if any one supposed that institutions were to be imposed by force upon a free and enlightened people, they never knew, or had forgotten, the history of our fathers. American citizens bear in their breasts too much of the spirit of other and trying days, and have lived too long amid the blessings of liberty, to submit to oppression from any quarter; and the man who, having once been free, could tamely submit to tyranny was fit to be a slave.

He urged the Free State men of Kansas to forget all minor issues and pursue determinedly the one great object, never swerving, but steadily pressing on, as did the wise men who followed the star to the manger, looking back only for fresh encouragement. He counselled that peaceful resistance be made to the tyrannical and unjust laws of the spurious Legislature; that appeals to the Courts, to the ballot-box, and to Congress, be made for relief from this oppressive load; that violence should be deprecated so long as a single hope of peaceable redress remained; but if at last all these should fail—if in the proper tribunal there is no hope for our dearest rights, outraged and profaned—if we are still to suffer that corrupt men may reap harvests watered by our tears, then there is one more chance for justice. God has provided, in the eternal frame of things, redress for every wrong, and there remains to us still the steady eye and the strong arm, and we must conquer, or mingle the bodies of the oppressors with those of the oppressed upon the soil which the Declaration of Independence no longer protects. But he was not at all apprehensive that such a crisis would ever arrive. He believed that justice might be found far short of so dreadful an extremity; and even should an appeal to arms come, it was his opinion that if we are well prepared, that moment the victory is won. Our invaders will never strike a blow in so unjust a cause.

"Thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just."

He then entered into the plan of conducting the campaign, and advised that the proclamation from the people, calling the election, be signed by every voter. Let the legal requirements of an election be strictly observed. Our position is one of asking only that the law be carried out. When Col. Ethan Allen was asked at Ticonderoga by whose authority he demanded the fort, he replied, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." I expect of you that you so prepare me that to a similar question I may boldly answer, "The Great Jehovah and the sovereign Squatters of Kansas." He spoke long and eloquently upon the importance that no rashness should endanger the Union which we all love and cleave to. He did not consider the correct public sentiment of the South as indorsing the violent wrongs which had been perpetrated by Missourians in our Territory; and that being so, he waited to hear their rebuke. Should it not come, and all hope of moral influence to correct these evils be cut off, and the tribunals of our country fail us, while our wrongs still continue, what then? Will they have grown easier to bear by long custom? God forbid that any lapse of time should accustom freemen to the duties of slaves; and when such fatal danger as that menaced, then is the time to

"Strike for our altars and our fires,
Strike for the green graves of our sires,
God and our native land."

As he paused, there was for an instant a deep silence as when a question of life or death is being considered—every man drew a long breath, but the next instant the air was rent with cries, "Yes, we will strike"; "White men never can be slaves." "Reeder!" "Reeder!" "Nine cheers for Reeder and Right." During his speech he had been constantly interrupted by shouts and shaking of hands, but now the enthusiasm was ungovernable; the crowd gathered around him with the warmest greetings. We would rather have the place he holds in the hearts of a generous, daring people than wear a kingly crown.

The *Herald of Freedom*, in publishing the foregoing proceedings, makes the following comments:

"There was a contrariety of opinion in that assembly. They differed on an important question. The people from New York, New England, and some from Pennsylvania and Ohio, were in favour of a State Constitution which should be silent upon the subject of a 'black law,' while those from the Western States very generally were in favour of ingrafting the exclusion policy into the State Constitution. The committee, who laboured long and arduously upon the question, finally agreed, with one dissenting voice, and made their report. The Convention adopted the action of the committee with but little apparent dissatisfaction, and yet dissatisfaction deep and lasting existed. We have no doubt a large majority of that Convention, indeed of the Free State voters of the Territory, were decidedly in favour of this new feature, and we shall not complain. For ourself, we take this occasion to remark that the platform does not meet with our hearty approbation. We are opposed, from principle, to 'every form of tyranny,' it matters not to which of the races it is extended, 'over the body and mind of man.' While a resident of Ohio, we laboured constantly to secure a repeal of what appeared to us an odious law—a law similar, in many respects, to that desired for Kansas. In Pennsylvania we rejoiced when our neighbours of Ohio triumphed with the right in erasing those oppressive enactments from their statute-books. It is true a different state of facts surround us now, and here we are, willing that our neighbours, who agree with us in the main, but differ on this question—and whom we have conceded are in the majority—shall fix the matter up to suit themselves; but we *do* object to their placing us in a position which will require us to stultify ourself, or give the lie to our entire past history."

THE CASE OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.

From the Philadelphia North American and Gazette.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

"The Federal Judiciary, which is a mere emanation under the Constitution from a Congress possessing only limited and special powers, was not on its establishment invested by construction with all the power of deciding what were contempts against its own dignity, and all the power of punishing them in a summary manner, which belongs to the Courts of a monarchy, governed by an omnipotent Parliament."—*James Buchanan.*

"Is it nothing to be deprived of liberty, without conviction, without jury? Is it nothing to be forced to give evidence against yourself? The magnitude of the punishment is comparatively of little moment. It is the principle that is dangerous. A free citizen ought never to hold his liberty, even for an hour, or his slightest portion of his property, at the will of any magistrate. But those I have noticed are not the worst features of this species of punishment. Vague and uncertain as is the definition of the offence, yet if impartial persons were appointed to decide whether any given word, look or gesture was contemptuous, there would be some security (a slight one, I grant) against oppression; but as if it were to make this example one in which every principle of correct procedure was to be violated, the person offended is constituted the only judge—the judge without appeal; and lest his resentment should have time to cool, he is armed with the power of summary process—and if he want evidence, he may force the defendant to produce it. Let it not be said, as it sometimes is, that this is an advantage; that the defendant may, by his answers to the interrogatories, exonerate himself. Not so. In the case of contemptuous words (and I see no reason why it should not extend to acts also), if he admit the speaking or the writing, the Court have the right to judge of the intent as manifested by the words; and although the party should deny any disrespectful intent in the most unequivocal terms, the Court may declare that the answer is false, and proceed to impose the punishment; and this power is given, too, in the very cases where it ought to be withheld."—*James Buchanan.*

"If a Judge be corrupt or partial in his judicial conduct, or should chance to be a fool (a case which sometimes happens), it is not only the right but the bounden duty of his fellow-citizens to expose his errors."—*James Buchanan.*

On these texts, taken almost at random, from an authority which neither the Judges of the Federal Courts nor of the State Courts hereabouts will question—the well-considered opinion of one who is an eminent jurist in the estimation of all who know him—we propose to speak a few words of respectful criticism on the recent action of the Supreme Court of the State. In doing so, we claim to go a step farther than the exigency which Mr. Buchanan contemplates, holding it to be our bounden duty to expose the errors of Judges even when, as in the present case, they are neither corrupt nor foolish. Neither, in the common sense of the word, do we mean to call them "partial" as between John H. Wheeler and Passmore Williamson, for we presume they care nothing about either of them individually; but whether in this great controversy of sectional and political feeling, where the power, or at least the sympathy, of the General Government, and of the Democratic party, and the threats of political doom certain and inevitable are arrayed on one side, and on the other, nothing but a latent, feeble, uncertain sentiment of loyalty to the State and its laws, and its jurisdictions and its institutions—whether in this unequal conflict, our Judges are entirely impartial, they will scarcely venture to affirm themselves. That they are not wholly without asperity, or antipathy, or some sort of irregular feeling, is inferrible from that which, when it is used by those who have intelligence and education (and Judge Black has both in an eminent degree), is always transparent—style and language and illustration. Judge Black, once speaking of a Judge whose loss he was deploring, said: "He spoke in metaphors, not because they were sought, but because they came to his mind unbidden"; and so it is with Judge Black himself. His rhetoric is the reflex of his feelings—his metaphors come unbidden from his heart and fancy at the moment. Now, we venture to affirm that no one can read the opinion of the Supreme Court, in refusing the writ of habeas corpus to Passmore Williamson, without being impressed with the idea that it is not the grave adjudication of a great question of constitutional right, but rather the flippant expression of a transient feeling or prejudice—not the determination of the claim of a citizen of a State to relief from unjust imprisonment at the hands of unauthorized power, but a question whether Passmore Williamson—the Abolitionist—ought not to be punished, right or wrong, for his impertinent interference with Mr. Wheeler's negroes. That the opinion of the Supreme Court is full of this sort of expressive rhetoric, no one who has studied it will at all dispute. Judge Knox, in his very able, temperate and dignified dissent, tells us that the opinion of his brethren, that which was to overrule him and settle law for all future time in Pennsylvania, was never read in his presence till just before it was delivered; and we can easily imagine the merriment and jocularity with which the majority of the Judges must have relished Judge Black's clever epigrammatic points, at the expense of the petitioner, who was all the time in prison, and his counsel, who felt that he was deeply wronged. For example—for we do not desire to do injustice, or to make an insinuation not sustained by proof—where Judge Black refers to the inmates of the prisons of the State—confounding Passmore Williamson and his inferential contempt with the thieves, and burglars, and murderers, whom Judge Kane has made his companions—as "the natural enemies" of the Supreme Court—when he says that if this writ be allowed, "half of the Western Penitentiary would be before the Court at Philadelphia, and a similar proportion from Cherry Hill and Moyamensing would attend it at Pittsburg," he is either venting spleen and irritation at being annoyed with a difficult problem, or he is doing what Judge Kane ("the learned and upright magistrate who presides in the District Court") did when he talked about Williamson being "a white man whose social training," &c., he is talking twaddle, and twaddle is not at all congenial to Judge Black's lips. So, again, when he talks of "a constant warfare against the Federal tribunals by firing off writs of habeas corpus upon them till the time," and says, rather grotesquely, that "if Williamson wants a *clean* victory or a *clean* defeat, he must not expect it from *them*," Judge Black and his colleagues either commit, by mere levity, a great indecorum, or, what is more probable, they disguise, in affected mirth, the vexation they felt at the necessity, whatever it was or whencesoever it came, which was imposed on them of reversing elementary law and doing injustice to one who on the record before them was an unoffending man. Had Mr. Williamson done anything morally or socially, on the record before the Court, to justify taunts and sarcasms? For what he did at Walnut street wharf, be it little, or much, he was amenable to the local law, and at the very moment when the Supreme Court were joking about him or flourishing their false rhetoric at his expense, he was under recognizance, and is yet to be tried for his alleged misconduct. He "may become one of Judge Black's natural enemies," but he is not yet qualified by conviction and sentence, and it was hardly worth while for grave and considerate Judges so to describe him. A fellow-man, a citizen of unblemished character—holding, perhaps, pernicious political opinions, but still respectable in every relation in life—is put in jail without a trial, by an arbitrary decree of a Judge, having, as we have shown, no earthly jurisdiction, for no moral wrong, but "as for a contempt"—"an illusory return"—and when he appeals, not in person, for the forms of law prevent his looking either his accuser or his Judges in the face, but by counsel, for a chance to test the power that confines him, he is denied this poor privilege, and has his sorrows aggravated by finding himself recorded and published as the fit associate of felons—clippers of coin—purloiners of "letters, smugglers, and others of Judge Kane's natural enemies," or the State criminals who Judge Black fancies are specially leagued against the Supreme Court, and who, he fears, may, by the clank of their fetters, disturb their quiet at Pittsburg, or interrupt their enjoyments at Philadelphia. Surely such a reason for refusing a habeas corpus never before was gravely given. To quote the language of the Chief Justice on another occasion, "Were it not that the subject is a grave and solemn one, we would say that it is perfectly ridiculous." And to all this, let it be remembered, there was no dissent except Judge Knox's. Mr. Justice Lowrie spoke of having left his opinion at home, and the Chief Justice said the other Judges might have something to suggest hereafter, but this was all. The public had a right to hope for something from the other Judge who sat upon the bench and who they knew had not always so nervous a fear of collision with the subordinate Federal Judiciary—who not long ago had allowed a writ against a Deputy Marshal, and who, we cannot but think, must have been pained at the tone and manner in which his own reluctant opinions were enunciated. It is not very long since the same Judges pronounced a learned opinion on a question of practical surgery, in a dispute "as to an oblique comminuted fracture of the *tibia* and *fibula*," Chief Justice Lewis being of opinion (let no reader smile incredulously, for we quote the very words) "that a long splint ought to be used with a counter extension at the pelvis"; and it was on that occasion that Judge Black, whose sense of humour is always alive, dissented—and his dissent was recorded and printed—solemnly stating that the Court is not authority on a question of surgery, and deprecating the scientific exhibitions of his brethren. Why, in this case of Williamson, did not some one disclaim Judge Black's taunts and sarcasms?

So much for the manner of this unfortunate decision—and there is more in judicial manner than the casual observer imagines—and now we hardly know how, in a popular form to explain and make briefly intelligible our earnest dissent from its principles. The sophistry by which the Court confound the efficacy of a commitment for contempt in a matter over which a Judge has jurisdiction with one over which he has not—the dodge of the question of original jurisdiction to issue such a habeas corpus behind an assumed conclusiveness of the judgment as to the contempt—the sophism, most painful of all, where Judge Black asserts it as law that if Williamson had made a different return, the jurisdiction of the Court might have become apparent, and therefore the want of jurisdiction cannot be set up by him—these form the structure of this elaborated specimen of juridical argumentation by which the plain, simple, elementary principle is annulled, of the right to test (no more is claimed) any restraint to which a citizen is subjected. Nor, let it be remembered throughout, is the incapacity, perhaps to understand, certainly to agree with, this perplexed logic confined to us laymen, for ours are precisely the views expressed so ably—and let us add, as relatively no slight praise, so temperately—by Judge Knox, who, in one sentence, sums up the whole matter when he says:

"As I understand the opinion of a majority of my brethren, as soon as we get to the word contempt, the book must be closed, and it becomes instantly sealed as to the residue of the record. To sustain this commitment we must, it seems, first presume, in the very teeth of the admitted fact, that these were runaway slaves; and second, we must be careful to read only portions of the record, lest we should find that the prisoner was committed for refusing to obey an unlawful writ."

Judge Kane, says the Court, decides jurisdiction by assuming it. Thus assuming it, he decides contempt, and behind the decision of contempt no power on earth can go or look. There is no rescue, no restoration—worse than all, no limitation. Mr. Williamson may, to use Judge Black's rather Hibernian illustration, carry the key of his prison in his own pocket, but outside the lock and across the gate is the stern and unyielding bar—the conclusive bolt of Judge Kane's commitment for contempt. No one but he can draw it aside. Let it be borne in mind by all who think on this question—at home and at a distance, layman and lawyer—that the intricacy of reasoning—a sort of circular argumentation—tying jurisdiction to contempt, and contempt to jurisdiction—the snake, as in the ancient symbol, swallowing his own tail—all this is on one side. On the other is the simple proposition, which pages of illustration cannot make more clear, and which rhetoric, good or bad, would only obscure, that no man can for one day or hour be held by the judgment of a Court without jurisdiction; and the want of jurisdiction being established (here it is now hardly pretended), all the efficacy of its convictions, its commitments and executions vanishes away. And who ought to have said so? Our Judges—our Supreme Court—those who, as Judge Knox impressively observes, have sworn to support the State as well as the Federal Constitution, which Judge Kane has not—the successors of that great man—a Southernor by birth and association—we mean Chief Justice Tilghman—who, in Olmsted's case, trampling under foot, or brushing aside, if it ever crossed his vision, the sophistry of conclusiveness and contempt, discharged on habeas corpus a prisoner held by the United States, saying—

"The United States have no power, legislative or judicial, except what is derived from the Constitution. When these powers are clearly exceeded, the independence of the States, and the Peace of the Union, demand that the State Courts should, in cases brought properly before them, give redress. There is no law which forbids it; their oath of office exacts it; and if they do not, what course is to be taken? We must be reduced to the miserable extremity of opposing force to force, and of arraying citizen against citizen, for it is in vain to expect that the States will submit to manifest and flagrant usurpations of power by the United States, if (which God forbid) they should ever attempt them"—

the companions of one now on the bench, who, in a mere matter of dollars and cents, not human

protection of a superior officer, *I will not assert*. Next morning, at 6 o'clock, as nearly as I can say, my door-bell was again rung. I opened the door, and received from the hand of Deputy-Marshal Miller the original writ of habeas corpus issued against Passmore Williamson, returnable at 3 o'clock P. M. of the same day (19th July), which I subsequently handed to E. Hopper, Esq., and requested that he would attend at the place and hour designated for the purpose of *manifesting proper respect to the Court and its process*, by giving the necessary explanation as to Passmore's absence from home, and his consequent want of knowledge of any such process having issued. The evening of the same day a copy of an alias writ of habeas corpus, issued against Passmore, was handed to me at my door by Deputy-Marshal Miller, the original of which was left by some person, I know not who, at Passmore's house on Buttonwood street. The writ was returnable next morning at 10 o'clock.

On the morning of the 20th, about 8 3-4 o'clock, Passmore made his appearance at our office with the alias writ in his hand. He then informed me he had arrived at home from Harrisburg between 1 and 2 o'clock of that morning, and that he had in no way heard of the writ having been issued until informed of it by his wife, after his arrival. I informed him that Edward Hopper, Esq., the day before had, at my instance, appeared at Court and explained the circumstance of his absence from the city, and proposed that he should avail himself of his aid as counsel in preparing his return to the writ. Passmore assented, and I accompanied him to E. Hopper's office. The return was therefore indorsed upon the writ, Passmore himself writing it in the usual form, according to the dictation of his counsel; and having thus proceeded therein to the proper point, I requested a pause, and proposed adding the words "*or at any other time*"—which being approved by both Passmore and his counsel, they were accordingly inserted; then believing, as I now do, that those words asserted truth and only truth, in the denial of any custody, power or possession by him of the parties commanded by the writ to be produced.

Such are the facts of the case within my own knowledge; and I do not and cannot doubt but that I am in possession of full and precise information, from himself and from others, of every part of Passmore's agency, actings and doings in any way relating to or having connection with the release of Jane Johnson and her two children from the custody, possession and control of John H. Wheeler, her and their assumed master, on board the steamboat Washington, at Walnut street wharf; and I have now no hesitation in saying and averring—as I have repeatedly heretofore said and declared to individuals—that I fully and heartily approve of every act, matter and thing which, either of my own knowledge or from information derived from himself or others, I *know* or *believe* was by Passmore done and performed, or caused or procured to be done, performed and acted in connection with that case.

THOS. WILLIAMSON.

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

It seems to me, Messrs. Editors, that sufficient attention has not been given by the press to the above case, in one of its most important bearings. It has been reviewed considerably, I am well aware, by most of our city journals, but their predilections, for or against slavery, have appeared to exercise undue weight in the conclusion which they have reached. In consequence of this, those which are *Free Soil* have, from the first, been vehement in denunciation of the sentence imposed by Judge Kane, while those opposed to them have been firm in upholding his doings. I think, however, that there is a question involved in the case with which neither slavery nor anti-slavery has aught to do, and, with your permission, without the least reference to either, I would like to say a few words upon the subject through your columns.

Williamson is confined in the Moyamensing prison for contempt of Court, and, according to several decisions which have been rendered upon application for his release, the Judge who placed him there can alone set him at liberty. He is in prison because he did not comply with a mandate of the Court, though he stated upon oath that to do so was not within his power. Admitting his assertions to be true, his imprisonment, it must appear plain to all, is an act of the greatest injustice. But the Judge did not believe his statement, and hence the course which he saw fit to pursue.

Now, it becomes a serious matter whether the oath of an individual, who has always maintained a good standing in society, may be so unceremoniously set aside. It appears that, *by law*, it may be; for I do not suppose that Judge Kane has transcended his authority; but it is law which is far opposed to justice, and I do not think that our people, being now aware of the fact, will rest contented until some change shall be effected which shall better secure them in their rights. Under present circumstances, what guarantee has any one of his freedom for twenty-four hours? Every Judge holds the liberty of the citizen in his own hand. An answer to a writ, *whether true or false*, may send the individual who makes it to prison for a lifetime. This is not mere fancy—it is fact. The Williamson case furnishes all the proof that is necessary. Here the Judge maintained that the answer was false, but he *could not know* whether it was so or not. As far as he was concerned, it was in reality only a supposition; and yet upon that, Williamson has been deprived of his liberty, and he cannot obtain it again without committing perjury, if, as he asserts, his statement, as submitted to the Court, is the actual truth. Is it not clear, from this, that the protection of the individual is not properly ensured? If a Judge, in one case, may imprison a citizen simply because he believes him to be deserving of imprisonment, he may do the same precisely in any case, and hence the citizen must be always at his mercy. But can this be tolerated in a Government like ours? I think not.

It is not, therefore, so important for us to inquire whether Williamson merits his punishment as whether we should grant to any one man, no matter what office he may hold, so much power as is possessed by Judge Kane. But as this is already conferred upon our Judges, the necessity of an immediate contraction of their privileges is, in my opinion, clearly apparent. Until recently, I am sure, no one thought that here, in Republican America, he could, by the *ipse dixit* of one man, have his liberty taken from him and be confined in a dungeon for an unlimited period. And in consequence, ignorance was bliss. But the action of Judge Kane, upheld as it is by the judiciary, has left no room for doubt in the matter.

It therefore appears to me, Messrs. Editors, that, in considering this subject, we should set aside altogether any prejudices which we may have in regard to "the peculiar institution." Admitting that Williamson has committed perjury and is being very properly punished, it cannot alter, in the least degree, the real question at issue. And that is, whether a Judge may decide upon the truth or falsity of a statement made to him, under oath, by an individual with a reputation for integrity as good as his own, and, accordingly as he forms an opinion, receive the statement or incarcerate the individual. It is clear enough that at present he may; but it is equally clear, to my mind, that some legislation is called for which will deprive him of this authority.

Respectfully, O. W. B.

New York, Sept. 17, 1855.

"INFIDELITY" OF ABOLITIONISTS.

LETTER FROM THE REV. WALTER SCOTT, PRESIDENT OF AIREDALE COLLEGE, LANCASHIRE.

[We are much indebted to Mr. W. F. Chesson for the following extract of a valuable letter received by him from the Rev. President, in reply to objections made to the North of England Anti-Slavery League, on the ground that infidels had been present, or that infidel expressions had been expressed, at the Conference held under their auspices about a year ago in Manchester. Rev. Mr. Scott's letter does him great honour as a sensible man and a Christian minister. It shows that he feels for those in bonds as bound with them; that he regulates his conduct by the golden rule; that he acts in behalf of the suffering and the dumb as he would wish them to act towards him if he were in similar circumstances. If the demeanour of the Christian Church in the United States had resembled that of the venerable writer, they would never have had to complain of the secession and rebukes of the American Abolitionists and of those who sympathise with them on this side of the Atlantic. —*Editor (London) A. S. Advocate.*]

"I am truly sorry and very much surprised to learn from your letter that there are some excellent men, whose sanction and assistance we should very much prize, who charge our proceedings at the late anti-slavery meeting at Manchester with being of an infidel character, on what grounds or for what reasons I am at a loss to determine. I cannot recollect any speech that was made, or measure that was adopted, or even a single sentence that was uttered, which could subject us to that charge. I do not pretend to be acquainted with the sentiments of all who took a prominent part in the proceedings; but I do not think there was one infidel amongst them. But if there were, I am certain nothing was done to promote in any way the cause of infidelity. Almost all the speakers, as far as I can recollect, took Scripture ground, and represented slavery as being directly opposed to the principles, the spirit and the commands of the Bible, and condemned by the sacred authority of its Author.

"And can those who censure us say that infidelity produced an anti-slavery spirit, or originated anti-slavery movements and plans, or formed anti-slavery societies? Does the blessed work of attempting to rescue the slave from the ruthless grasp of his cruel oppressor belong to infidelity as regards either its origin or its operation, so that because we join in it we should be charged with giving an infidel character to our proceedings? No, we claim the honour of this work for the Bible, for the mission of Jesus Christ. And suppose infidels do join with us in this work, what then? Are infidels destitute of the feelings of humanity; may not their hearts revolt at the enormous wrongs and atrocities of slavery? May they not be sincere and earnest in their efforts to banish this great abomination from the earth? And if they were not, even if their motives were selfish, does it necessarily follow that their assistance must not be accepted in this good work? Very probably there might be some infidels who exerted themselves strenuously to procure the abolition of the corn laws: but did this give an infidel character to the meetings and proceedings of those who engaged in that good work? Were my neighbour's house on fire, and if I was endeavouring to quench the flames and save his property, and an infidel under the influence of the common feelings of humanity were to rush forward to assist me, would it give an infidel character to my exertions, if I were to avail myself of his aid? Slavery has done and is doing more harm to the human race than ten thousand conflagrations could do; and I would accept the assistance of any human being, if I thought he was sincere, and would really facilitate my exertions in endeavouring to destroy this great destroyer, and to vindicate the cause of justice and humanity. I must think that the best thing the friends of the Bible and of orthodoxy (to use a common expression for the sake of brevity) can do is to come forward and, as far as they have opportunity, to take the lead in Anti-Slavery Societies, and thus give a practical refutation to the charges which are sometimes brought against them, as being indifferent to the sufferings of the slave; and also to the impious reasoning of those who endeavour to wrest that book which is the best friend of the poor—is an emanation in fact from the benevolence of God—to the support of injustice, and cruelty, and systematic oppression.

"Oh, it is a lamentable thing that while there are, in America especially, infidels, and men whose religious opinions some of us must consider unsound, who yet are all zeal and energy in pleading the cause of the slave, and endeavouring to gain redress for his wrongs, there should be professing Christians, ministers of the Gospel, men glorying in their faith and orthodoxy, who stand aloof, and even plead the cause of the most cruel, heartless, base and impious oppression. It deserves serious consideration whether before the tribunal of Eternal Justice it will not be found a greater delinquency, something more offensive to the God of heaven, to refrain to deliver those who are drawn unto death and are ready to be slain—especially to be found to have been, directly or indirectly, the supporters of slavery as it exists in America—than to have imbibed heterodox or even infidel sentiments. If Britain were invaded by a powerful army, what would be thought of the government if it refused to permit infidels to enlist into the army, and to expose their lives in defence of their country? Or if, actuated by the spirit of patriotism, these infidels should take the lead in attacking the foe, what opinion should we form of those soldiers who should see them hard pressed by the invaders, and yet would not assist them, and would plead as an excuse that their religious sentiments were erroneous? Slavery has invaded the human race, has raised millions of our fellow-creatures, and holds millions of them under the most cruel bondage, and I, for one, think it a duty to receive into our ranks all who will fight faithfully against this deadly foe of God and man. I regret that this cry of infidelity has been raised; I hope our brethren will reconsider the matter; but I trust, at the same time, that none who have engaged in the sacred cause will on that account draw back or relax in their efforts.

I am, my dear sir, yours truly,

(Signed) WALTER SCOTT.

UNPALATABLE COUNSEL.

THE coloured people of this State have recently initiated a new and (they purpose) more vigorous, systematic and formidable agitation for the Right of Suffrage, which is still, in shameful defiance of the cardinal principles on which our Government is based, denied to all of them who do not possess each a freehold of the clear value of $250. This Property Qualification for Voting was devised, enacted and maintained by that very party of Sham Democracy which lives and thrives on its professions of special regard for the poor, friendless and despised, and which noisily denounces all institutions that base Political Rights or Franchises on Property. Among the many swindles by which knavish political aspirants have so long obtained and abused an undue share of power by professing devotion to Human Rights regardless of social or other factitious distinctions, this of hostility to Property Qualifications, in full view of their obstinate maintenance of the only Property Qualification now known to our laws, is the most barefaced.

The Blacks ought to enjoy the Right of Suffrage exactly as the Whites do. If any Property Qualification were justifiable, it should be general; for if the possession of Property justifies a presumption of capacity and character, or if the lack of Property argues unfitness to wield safely and beneficently the Right of Suffrage, the rule indicated is as good for Whites as for Blacks. We condemn all Property Qualifications; but if such were at all justifiable, they would be quite as salutary in their application to Whites as to Blacks.

Yet we have no hope that the wrong now prevailing on this point will be redressed for many weary years; and we see very clearly that present agitation for its overthrow will only result in exposing to popular odium the Whites engaged in it. Efforts to abolish this partial Property Qualification do not hasten the enfranchisement of the Blacks, but they strongly tend to the practical disfranchisement of the Whites who favour their claims. We did what we could for Equal Suffrage in 1846, with feeble hopes of success, but with a perfect consciousness that we incurred very general obloquy and injured our political associates by so doing. At the same time we provoked the implacable hostility of the Blacks by telling them, in reply to their formal solicitation of our counsel, that the cause of Equal Suffrage could only be damaged by their conspicuous advocacy—that they would serve it most by keeping themselves as much out of sight as possible. That was honest and wholesome advice, but it subjected us to a large measure of active, hearty hatred.

The mass of men are not governed by principle and care little for consistency. To detest despotism and class legislation in Europe, yet sigh for a plantation well stocked with fat negroes in Alabama, is by no means an isolated freak, nor has Ireland a monopoly of the production of such liberators. The patriot whose conception of the Freedom and Independence he adored included the right to "larrup his own niggers" at discretion was undoubtedly of Native breed, and not necessarily of Milesian stock.

Most earnestly desiring the enfranchisement of the Afric-American race, we would gladly wean them, at the cost of some additional ill-will, from the sterile path of political agitation. They can help win their rights if they will, but not by jawing for them. One negro on a farm which he has cleared or bought, patiently hewing out a modest, toilsome independence, is worth more to the cause of Equal Suffrage than three in an Ethiopian (or any other) convention, clamouring against White oppression with all the fire of a Spartacus. It is not logical conviction of the justice of their claims that is needed, but a prevalent belief that they would form a wholesome and desirable element of the body politic. Their colour exposes them to much unjust and damaging prejudice; but if their degradation were but skin deep, they might easily overcome it. In fact, every one of them who has the force of character to say truly, "I will not depend on the good opinion of others: if my colour subjects me to prejudice, I will prove myself superior to prejudice by loving and treating kindly all without distinction of colour, while seeking the favour of none. If Whites deem me unqualified for employment in any but menial vocations, I will not ask employment of white men, but take my axe on my shoulder and seek some spot wherein I may make a living by the favour of none but God. If white men deem me unworthy to sit at their tables, I will prove them in error by not caring whether I sit there or not." Such is the spirit which must give value to political enfranchisement and in whose absence that enfranchisement must prove of little worth.

Of course, we understand that the evil we contemplate is complex and retroactive—that the political degradation of the Blacks is a cause as well as a consequence of their moral debasement. Had they never been enslaved, they would not now be so abject in soul; had they not been so abject, they could not have been enslaved. Our Aborigines might have been crushed into slavery by overwhelming force; but they could never have been made to live in it. The black man who feels insulted in that he is called a "nigger," therein attests the degradation of his race more forcibly than does the blackguard at whom he takes offence; for negro is no further a term of opprobrium than the character of the blacks has made it so. "Whig," "Yankee," "Democrat," were originally terms of reproach or derision; but those thus stigmatized in either case accepted the designation and made it quite other than contemptuous. "Libertine," on the other hand, was proudly claimed as a distinction by those who favoured Human Liberty; but their conduct converted it into a term of reproach. If the Blacks of to-day were all or mainly such men as Samuel R. Ward or Frederick Douglass, nobody would consider "negro" an invidious or reproachful designation.

The Blacks of our State ought to enjoy the common Rights of Man; but they stand greatly in need of the spirit in which those rights have been won by other races. They will never win them as white men's barbers, waiters, ostlers and boot-blacks; that is to say, the tardy and ungracious concession of the Rights of Suffrage which they may ultimately wrench from a reluctant community will leave them still the political as well as social inferiors of the Whites—excluded from all honourable office, and admitted to white men's tables only as waiters and plate-washers—unless they shall meantime have wrought out, through toil, privation and suffering, an intellectual and essential enfranchisement. At present, white men dread to be known as friendly to the black, because of the never-ending, still-beginning importunities to help this or that negro object of charity or philanthropy to which such a reputation inevitably subjects them. Nine-tenths of the Free Blacks have no idea of setting themselves to work except as the hirelings and servitors of white men; no idea of building a church, or accomplishing any other serious enterprise, except through beggary of the Whites. As a class, the Blacks are indolent, improvident, servile and licentious; and their inveterate habit of appealing to White benevolence or compassion, whenever they realize a want or encounter a difficulty, is eminently baneful and enervating. If they could never more obtain a dollar until they shall have earned it, many of them would suffer, and some perhaps starve; but, on the whole, they would do better and improve faster than may now be reasonably expected.

Of course, they will not generally heed these rough hints, since they are abundantly supplied with counsellors whose tones are more silvery and whose utterances are more welcome than ours. We do not ask them to believe us animated by any special aspiration for their well-being; for, though often accused of "negro-worshiping," "negro idolatry," &c., we never professed any peculiar regard for them. As our fellow-beings and, for good or evil, an integral portion of the Commonwealth, we anxiously desire their political, social and moral elevation, not for their own sakes only or mainly, but for the sake of the entire community. We believe their complete emancipation most desirable—that it is to be wrought out mainly by themselves, and by the exertion of other muscles than those at the root of the tongue. Let them hear all sides, and act as their calmest judgment shall dictate.—*Tribune.*

Without stopping now to criticise this well-meant "counsel" of the *Tribune*, we cannot forbear copying in this connection the following extract from a letter, signed "Communipaw," in the last *Frederick Douglass's Paper*. The severest portion of the *Tribune's* remarks is strikingly confirmed by this testimony of one who ranks (in his own estimation at least) among the leaders of the coloured people.

"In all our history [the history of the coloured people] no man from among us has stood forth and announced a principle, or line of conduct, or set an example of progress to which any thousand of us have assented, or carried out. Let any man among us, rising above menial occupation, set up a creditable business in the midst of a coloured neighbourhood, and he will find, as others have found, that his brethren, so far from supporting him and holding up his hands, will, on the contrary, pass his door to trade with the whites; if he succeed, he must depend largely upon the patronage of the whites; of all the coloured churches in the land, I know not one which pays a decent salary to a coloured minister, out of its own funds; and if a coloured man seek the higher ranks of life as a lawyer, physician or editor, the same treatment by his brethren meets him. 'The *Herald of Freedom*,' says John I. Gaines, 'in the midst of a coloured population of nearly 4,000 in and about Cincinnati—a population who command one million and a half of dollars—receives from them, for its support, *sixteen dollars a week!*' Yet the *Herald of Freedom* is a straightforward, earnest advocate of our common rights, and is doing manly service in battering down the special forms of oppression under which our people labour in Cincinnati.

"But, if we have no 'leaders' among the coloured people, by what terms are we to distinguish the coloured men who assemble in conventions, write addresses, pass first-rate resolutions, &c., &c., for the elevation of 'our people'? These men, who are, or have been—for some have passed away—men of public spirit, earnest for the general good and zealous for the advancement of the down-trodden, men willing to spend and be spent—but, alas! they never have had the masses to support them, nor even to give an approving cheer or God's-speed to their well meant efforts—so far from being leaders of the people, they are 'like unto children sitting in the markets and calling unto their fellows and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.'

"Such are the men whom Mr. Clark blames as 'leaders': so far are these from 'forgetting the materials' with which they must work, and 'the resources on which they must rely,' that it is the 'materials'—a mutually repellant people—who forget them; or if they remember them, it is for purposes of blame or ridicule. Ten coloured men to one white have I heard blame Dr. Pennington and Frederick Douglass for their manly resistance against caste in cars and steamboats. This is the secret, moreover, of the absence of Garnett, and Ward, and Crummell, from among us. 'It would not do for such a man as I am,' writes Alexander Crummell, 'to live in New York, the Rector of a coloured congregation, amid all the moral confusion in Church and State which pertains to the question of the rights of our poor and oppressed race. The galling pressure of the whites would be sad enough; but to have to endure the malignant spite of our own people, ever ready to lick the dust before our common oppressors, and to turn with venom upon their black vindicators, and to crush their hearts as they did mine, is something which I cannot learn ever again. I have had a twelve years' schooling of this kind; and it has passed—forever!'

"There is now left, in this city of New York, but one of these 'leaders,' or public-spirited individuals. Early in June last, he began arrangements for a grand celebration of the *First of August*, on Staten Island; poor in pocket, he laboured, night and day, to raise the means to print and distribute handbills and other advertisements to rouse the people up to the glorious occasion; civic societies and military companies were assiduously drummed up; by dint of persevering energy, and the aid of an old friend, he secured that grand yet lovely site, Clifton Park, where, some years before, Kossuth's tent had been pitched when he first landed on American soil. After all this toil, and trouble, and invention, when he called the people together for preliminary organization of the procession, he was scarcely permitted to say a word; the people elected marshals and aids, but left him out; and, on the eventful First of August, when there assembled, in squads of dozens and hundreds, no less than *five thousand* coloured people, called together by his almost unaided efforts, our 'leader' was the only man who came and departed alone! He wore cocked hat, and sword, and sabertash, and marched into the grand old park, as some one cruelly remarked, 'Captain of the Invisible Guards!'"

Unscrupulous demagogues among the coloured people have abused Mr. Garrison, and even questioned his fidelity to freedom, because he said, on a memorable occasion, that "the anti-slavery cause, both religiously and politically, had transcended the ability of the sufferers from American slavery and prejudice, *as a class*, to keep pace with it, or to perceive what are its demands, or to understand the philosophy of its operations"; and now here is one of those very demagogues who brings against them the far worse accusation of ingratitude and virtual treachery toward those of their own complexion who are labouring for their good!

PHILADELPHIA AND HER PRESS.

THERE is on the part of the Philadelphia press a laudable desire to set forth the position or prospects of their city as a rival of New York. This, however, is qualified by a good deal of bad blood against this community; which, moreover, is not an unbalanced account, as some of our journals here deal with particular unfairness whenever they treat of Philadelphia. If that city be so inferior as some of our papers say, the details of such inferiority should be made known as mere matters of fact, and such paltry warfare omitted as misstating her contributions to the Norfolk fund, cursing the anthracite coal which we are right glad to get—with much kindred pettiness. There is, however, something to be said in regard to the Philadelphia press, as the exponent of Philadelphia, which is not complimentary, and cannot be set down to the account of jealousy.

If all that is claimed of the superior condition of Philadelphia—the well-being of the mechanical and labouring classes; the admirable laws regarding the purchase of land; the immense and ever-increasing manufacturing industries vivified by the coal, iron and water-power of the interior; the calm social atmosphere, so favourable to scientific investigation and achievement; the hereditarily celebrated bar and schools of medicine—if all these are as claimed—and we shall not dispute it—then, never was a community more disgraced in an intellectual point of view than is Philadelphia at this instant by her journals, in their course on the great question of human liberty, of which circumstances just now make her an important pivot—as much as she was when the Declaration of Independence was penned in the old State House.

As a rule, the Philadelphia press now appear utterly stolid when liberty is concerned—destitute of talent in the exposition of the development of democractic institutions—not getting, in fact, an inch beyond the old "Democratic" circle, which means the spoils of office, and letting the South do as she chooses—annex territory, manufacture Senators, make Fugitive Slave laws, and call into notoriety an Ingraham or a Kane. This rule applies about equally to Whig and Democratic journals. One idea appears to permeate them—not to offend our Southern brethren. If we must get behind the motives for this, they would seem to be of the Iscariot order. Is it a question of trade with the South? Must Front street and the wharves have consignments of Kentucky hemp and Maryland and Virginia tobacco, Carolina cotton and Louisiana sugar? Must Market street do the jobbing with the whole South? Must stray nabobs not be driven away from spending their Winters there and making their purchases? Must the five hundred medical students be assured that "the Abolitionists" are a miserable handful? If all these questions be answered in the affirmative—and we believe that is the only way they can be answered—then is Philadelphia without the moral elevation due her physical prosperity and intellectual claims; and this accounts for the utter stupidity of her journalism. For how can a newspaper in these days be worth reading when the doctrines of hucksters and slaves control it? Take even the Paris press, where, in some and not a few respects, journalism has been carried to the highest point. What is the Paris press now? Unfit to read. It is dull beyond endurance. If to compare the Philadelphia press to the Parisian be considered a compliment by the sleek traders and journalists of the former community, we give them the full benefit of the parallel. The intellectual worth of the Philadelphia press appears gone. The baseness of doctrinairism—of bourgeoisieism—of all the money-making ethics of which Guizot, under Louis Philippe, was the arch-expositor, and which paved the way to revolution and reaction—this is virtually enforced by the Philadelphia press in their course on the great question of liberty or bondage for this entire nation—a question of such vital and pressing consequence that it must now be settled, if this country is to continue to have even the local freedom which has fled the seat of Government.

Again, on the subject of the Camden and Amboy monopoly, why do not the Philadelphia journals speak out as if they had souls of their own? One of them, treating of the recent railroad butchery, says, whimperingly, "we must be excused for saying"—saying what? What ought to have been said without any hesitation or apology. Do the highly respectable newspapers of Philadelphia think the world is blind or asleep? Do they think that trade with the South is to keep this country in shackles; or the wealth of a corporation to impede intercourse and murder travellers at pleasure, on special occasion, while robbing them all the while? Where is the spirit of Philadelphia? She had men formerly. Great names have adorned her annals—made her justly famous. But the race of these appears to have died out. Her Judges are the boot-blacks of Southern masters; and were it not for a few manly hearts like Passmore Williamson, we should say that she was past redemption.

Let her journals remember that if Philadelphia is to have the reputation of what they claim for her, it will be by speaking the truth without fear or favour. Truckling to slavery renders them contemptible and the city with them. It is only a fearless assertion of the rights and principles of Freedom which, at such a crisis as the present, can entitle a community or its public organs to respect.—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1855.

ALLIES OF FREEDOM.

"Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

SUCH the strains in which, half a century since, Wordsworth addressed himself to Toussaint L'Ouverture, after his fall. As we may look to him, not so much an individual man as the personation of Freedom in her perpetual struggles against Slavery, then especially, when might seems triumphant over right, so we may transfer the language to our own times, and apply it in cheer to Freedom, now banished, we might almost say, from our country, sharing a doom analogous to that which the poet imagined her noble champion might suffer, his head, perhaps,

"Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den."

If, from this single type of the continued struggle, we turn to what is now passing before us, the first thing which strikes us is the difference—fearful, if anything on the side of justice could have relation to fear—between the numbers supporting slavery and those few scattered men and women who seek to overthrow it. The Southern States of our Confederacy, comprising the millions of acknowledged citizens, united in the power and the will to hold their vassals in hopeless bondage—united with a ferocity of purpose which, with rarest exceptions, holds in awe and suppresses the natural risings of a more generous indignation, and compels all to support the monstrous tyranny; the Northern and Western States, so full of energy and enterprise, connected, through manifold sympathies and interests, with the merciless despotism; a common origin, the same language, one religion; related long as provinces under English government, through suffering, and toil, and peril, in peace and in war; united in the fiercer conflict which severed them from the parent country; drawn closer to each other by the Constitution which they freely formed together and freely adopted, growing more and more into the feelings of a nation, rejoicing in the same memories of heroic deeds and heroic men; and, in addition to these finer ties, establishing commercial and pecuniary relations, which cement their interests both at home and abroad; the whole binding such multitudes, from the Atlantic to the Pacific seas, from the Northern Lakes to the Southern Gulf, in alliance of heart and hand and interest with the fierce tyranny; the eye, forsooth, of Freedom seems to meet nothing, wherever it turns, but one immense conspiracy to crush it down and hold it enthralled, led, perhaps, at last, like some captive prisoner, beautiful amidst tears and chains, at once the highest and the lowliest form, in the barbaric pomp of an old triumphal procession. The heavenly powers shield us! But the very heavens, perhaps, look dark upon us. They may seem to give no voice, to shine with no brightness, to proffer no cheer. We turn toward them, and think, it may be, they seem as sometimes these skies of ours, their summer glory dimmed, and, for the beauty of their everlasting repose, a cold, hard, pitiless repulsion; stormy perhaps, or, if clear, frowning still. And yet we feel as if this word were almost a sin against the pure sky; wait but a while, and we shall see the serenity and loveliness all come back again.

Such hope we may have in looking out upon the air dark and lowering with the powers of Slavery. Really those powers are not measurable by any enumeration. They lie not in numbers, however many, however compact, however strongly fortified, by whatever laws and usages they may seek perpetuity, but in something deeper and mightier than these. Just so the powers of Freedom cannot be estimated by arithmetic. The counting of persons does not approach toward the determination of how many or how few there be that unite in this holy league. Let us turn our thoughts awhile to a different computation.

Slavery, considered as the effect of human action, proceeds from some cause in the human soul. The primary cause, we may presume, is the desire of wealth, accompanied by power sufficient to secure gratification by means of labour, which others are compelled to perform. Avarice is thus parent of Slavery; and, as the avaricious man is always renewing his want, so he will always strive at once to retain what he already possesses and to increase it by fresh accumulations. In process of time, the direct pursuit of gain may come to have less, or to have even more, to do with preserving and perpetuating Slavery. But, in either case, another aspect of the primary cause is making itself more apparent; pride of rank, ambition to stand above others and command them, to gain and feel a certain eminence which shall be seen and confessed. In this sentiment of ambitious pride is the origin of the peculiarity, so much vaunted of late years, in the attachment to liberty which Burke ascribes to holders of slaves. Burke himself never meant it as an apology for slavery; rightly interpreted, his language conveys no such apology. It is simply this, that what, among people of whom all are free, is the love of freedom as freedom—a common possession awakening no thought of superiority—connects itself in the feelings of those who govern slaves with a pride of superior power and privilege. With the former, it is nothing more than an unquestioned right of all; with the latter, it is a dignity held by a part. As a dignity, as a privilege, as a power, as the eminence of a class, it is sought and sustained at this moment through worse than the old feudal despotism. Beyond this, also, Slavery has another element, if not of primary cause, yet certainly of continued strength. With the wealth and the dignity to which it helps the master, it enables him also to control peculiar ministers of personal gratification and indulgence. To say nothing of other such ministers, we may refer to one. We confess, an utter amazement—seizes us, we were going to say—we correct it by saying, would seize us, if anything after the vindication itself of Slavery could amaze us, at the cry, not wholly stilled yet, of Amalgamation. The very word is one which, we should think, must awaken such an instant and overmastering shame that slaveholder and apologist for slavery would repress it before it could come out from the lips. Amalgamation! Tell us one cause more potent than the base privilege of enjoying it without stint, for the continuance of an unhallowed relation annulling marriage, and empowering tyrannous men to substitute unlimited concubinage and actual, not theoretic, amalgamation.

But we need not stop here. Avarice, pride, sensual lust, these three may be named as either primary cause or permanent supports of slavery. We might put the fact in another form. The cause is not a fugitive and temporary movement, but a continuing power. The effect embodies the cause, as the cause produces the effect. Slavery is avarice embodied; slavery is pride embodied; slavery is lust embodied; slavery is the organized form of the three-fold power of darkness. So, likewise, it is avarice in action, pride in action, lust in action. Slavery is the concentrated action of the lowest and most selfish passions and appetites of human nature.

Apply the thought. We seem to ourselves to have some recollection of old traditions about ghosts, these shadowy souls of the dead, wandering about in graveyards or otherwhere to find and possess their bodies. Wherever, in America or anywhere else, there are those low selfish passions ungratified, the tradition is made real. These passions, so many bodiless shadows, rove in darkness, and delight to connect themselves with their fitting forms. Thus avarice, pride, lust, whose destiny has severed them from corresponding organs and forms, still follow them, drawn by the secret affinities, and, if destiny should change toward them, immediately put on their own natural bodies and move about in their own organic shapes. The attractions are constant and universal. If any man be avaricious, whatever his theories may be, let him know that, in virtue of avarice, he is essentially one with the slaveholder; if proud, his pride, even if ghost-like, draws him into sympathy with every despot; if lustful, his heart is in alliance with the tyranny which desecrates marriage and enthrals woman to bestial and triumphant appetite. These, the world own, are the causes, the supports, the allies, of Slavery. These ravenous powers, not the millions in number, are the foes of Freedom.

And thus we learn what are the allies of Freedom. We need not stop to count the names upon our books. We need not ask who the men are to address our assemblies, or who, through press or pulpit, advocate our claims. There are greater and surer allies. They lived before any of us were born; they will outlive us all. Nature is full of them; man bears them in his soul forever. He who repels avarice wholly and continually, or who, once enthralled to it, has rejected the vassalage and become generous and disinterested; be who puts pride always away from him, or who, once proud, has become lowly; he who keeps his heart and his hand pure, or who, once defiled, has become thoroughly pure; embodies in himself energies before which Slavery cowers and must finally fall. Every divine impulse in the soul, every human aspiration, every emotion, every thought, every word and deed of love, everything true, just, gentle, throughout the world, may be held as sure to the grand alliance. In one word, as all the evil in the world is in sympathy with oppression, so, wherever, over the whole earth, in each and every soul, there is aught of good, be it more or be it less, there is the element, there the power, which nothing can destroy, of universal freedom.

The alliance is of immeasurable extent. If, besides national and commercial affinities, there are those deeper affinities of common appetites for evil, supporting American slavery, what are all before the unseen powers of Virtue, whose country takes in every land and every race; whose descending spirit purifies every soil and every heart; whose celestial armour, brighter and more powerful than fables celebrate of heroes and of gods, drives hosts before it, and shields all whom it covers? Our proud republic, in this the dark hour of its pretended glory, what is that, what all the gathered elements of its barbarism, in presence of the Power, unseen by mortal eyes, which moveth worlds, as if they were toys, and to whose silence of everlasting activity these ages of ours are but moments? Nature and Man, eternal law and unconquerable mind, are with the true freeman; with him, inspiration from celestial spheres and the life from which only good flows, by which evil is turned to good, good raised to higher power, into which everything returns for strength to go out anew on the perpetual ministries of love.

SANDERS AND KOSSUTH.

THE name of George N. Sanders is by no means unfamiliar to those of our readers who keep themselves posted in regard to American politics. He was a conspicuous wire-puller in the Presidential election of 1852, being recognised as one of the leaders of the 'Young America' wing of the sham Democracy. Having control of the *Democratic Review*, he waged a savage and unrelenting war upon the 'old fogies' and standing Presidential candidates of the party, thus paving the way for the nomination and election of Franklin Pierce. He was a regular fillibuster, an avowed champion of slavery, and mixed up with all the secret movements of the slaveholders for the acquisition of Cuba. President Pierce appointed him United States Consul at London, where he laboured constantly to effect an alliance between the Republican leaders of Europe and the fillibustering pro-slavery Democracy of the United States, and to induce the former, in all their discussion of American affairs, to ignore the question of slavery and treat the speculators in human flesh as sound and reliable Democrats. With Kossuth his labours to this end were evidently quite successful, but Mazzini, the leader of the Republicans of Italy, was too honest as well as too sagacious to attempt to purchase the aid of American slaveholders in the work of establishing freedom in Europe by consenting to conceal his views of slavery. On the 1st of June, 1854, there appeared in the London *Morning Advertiser* a letter from him to the Rev. Dr. Beard, written in answer to an invitation to attend an anti-slavery meeting in Manchester, and avowing in most unequivocal terms his sympathy with the anti-slavery movement. This letter alarmed Mr. Sanders, and, in order to counteract its influence in the United States (for it was likely to upset his project of an alliance between the slaveholding Democracy and the Republicans of Europe), he, taking advantage of Mazzini's absence from England, hatched up a story to the effect that the letter was an old one, and that it was only an avowal of abstract opinions having no relation to the organized movements against slavery. Kossuth, in a cunningly worded letter, endorsed this lie, and, thus set on its legs, it ran through the United States faster and farther than the truth could follow it. The truth was that Mazzini's letter was *not* an old one at all. It had been written only three months before, in answer to an invitation to attend a meeting at which American slavery was expected to be a prominent topic. Mazzini, moreover, as was well known among his friends in England, had previously expressed his warm admiration of the leaders of the anti-slavery movement in the United States. It is hardly likely that this fact was unknown to Sanders and Kossuth.

Mr. Sanders subsequently quarrelled with President Pierce, and, consequently, his nomination was not confirmed by the Senate. He came back to the United States, and from that day to this he has been employed in promoting the schemes of that portion of the Democratic party which regards the President as not sufficiently thorough and hearty in support of slavery. For some time past he has been wire-working among the French and German Republicans of this city, in the hope of acquiring influence over them and thereby magnifying his own personal consequence and power in the approaching Presidential election. The scheme was all concocted by the leaders, and the occasion selected for its consummation was the anniversary of the French Republic of 1792, at which Mr. Sanders, Robert J. Walker and certain French and German orators were to figure. The meeting, however, proved an utter failure, the persons intended to be victimized being too sagacious to be caught in Mr. Sanders's pro-slavery trap. Only a small number of persons were present, and Mr. S. appeared to be sensible that it was the fear of being mixed up in a pro-slavery demonstration that kept people away. He illustrated his moral status by declaring, "I'm for the guillotine, and I'd work it by steam, by ——." The meeting, he said, was for white men, not for niggers. He offered the following toast:

"The Red Republicans of America must work and wait until '57. Cuba and the Elsineur tax will be their opportunity."

What, he asked, can we do for niggers? He waxed profane, and denounced the clergy of New England, who had signed the remonstrance against the Nebraska bill. He discoursed on the loving equality which pervades Southern society as follows: "If I wanted to be President of the United States, and was a black-smith, I would go to a Southern State to arrive at that distinction. There's no man at the South who has a mechanic to labour for him but has to receive him at his table. There's no distinction at the South, but of intellect. There's no Southern planter that would dare to insult a mechanic, or to offer him a seat at the second table. He would have his face slapped, you know, in an instant."

It was reported in some of the papers that the Society *La Montagne* (the old, well-known and highly influential association of French Republicans in this city) had countenanced this meeting, and that the ever-vigilant and sagacious Col. Forbes was present, but both these statements are expressly contradicted by Col. F. in a letter published in *The Times*.

At the very moment when Mr. Sanders's plottings in the interest of the Slave Power are exciting our disgust and demanding exposure, lo! our attention is arrested by the voice of Kossuth,

very great number of people had collected on the side-walk and around the car, many of them cried: 'Stay in, Downing'; another says: 'Put him out.' But the car started on the up-trip, and there was a shout from the spectators: 'Three cheers for Downing—hurra, hurra, hurra.'

"The car had proceeded but a very few rods when the conductor rang the bell and stopped it again. The mob then surrounded the car and filled the platforms, and it was with great difficulty that the conductor could get them off.

"The car at length got under way and went on, and I saw from the conductor's communication with the driver that he did not intend to stop for me when I should ring the bell to get out. I noticed that whenever the bell rang, the driver would look into the car to see who wished to get out. When I got to the corner of Thirty-eighth street and Sixth Avenue, I said to the gentleman at my side, 'Will you be kind enough to ring the bell for me?' which he did. The driver looked into the door and, seeing the gentleman standing, stopped the car, when the three of us got quietly out, and no one was hurt."

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLXXV.

THE ARGUMENT. — The Correspondent apologizeth — And why — He commendeth his Method—He goeth to Worcester—Pencillings by the Way—The Correspondent's Pattern Woman—The liberality of his spirit towards kidnappers — The Two Conventions—How the Correspondent got what he wanted—Going into the Mixture—The long-boiling Democratic volunteer — Mr. Dana's Address and Resolutions—The Informal Ballot—Discussion on Gov. Gardner's position—Report of Committee on Credentials—Mr. Griffin useth tiov. G.'s cane as a weapon of chastisement—Mr. Dana's Speech—The Governor's Death Warrant read by the Sheriff — Decisive ballot — Rockwell nominated — Its reception — Other Candidates Shouting Happy, &c. &c. &c.

BOSTON, Sept. 24, 1855.

IT is entirely irregular in me to send you a letter two weeks running. But I hope you will excuse it, in consideration of the infrequency of my sins of commission of this particular description. But as I told you in my last that the Real Political Baby Show was to come off at Worcester, last week, and as I did not fail to be there to see, I thought you might like to hear all about it before it had become an old story. Well, I went up to Worcester, in the Special Train provided for the occasion. But first I must tell you what I heard as I went along. I am strictly Aristotelian in the management of my narratives, and always choose to have a beginning, a middle and an end to all of them. I happened to sit next a gentleman who knew me, though I did not know him by sight—though, when he told me his name, I knew that I had known him by reputation for many years as an Abolitionist from the Start. Among many other interesting things, he told me this, which rejoiced the cockles of my heart. He said that his married daughter, who lives in a town adjoining Boston, had lately consented to receive as inmates, though not in the habit of taking boarders, a gentleman and his wife. Soon after their arrival, she learnt that he had been "out" as a member of some *military* company on the day Burns was kidnapped. The next time she saw him, she charged him with the offence, saying to this effect, "Mr. ——, had I known that you had been one of the men that helped carry poor Burns back to Slavery, you should never have put your foot inside of my house! I wish none such to break bread with me. As it is, my husband has told me that I might have what you pay for my own uses; but I will never touch a cent of it. He may take it, if he pleases, but I want no money that has the smell of blood on it!" There's a woman after my own heart. A thousand such would make another kidnapping impossible. I believe he tried to creep out of the hole left for the purpose, that the service was not for the return of the slave, but for the peace of the City. But, thank God and President Pierce

("Powers Eternal! Such names mingled!"),

that cranny has been stopped with the day's wages (two dollars a day, I think, with roast beef and brandy thrown in by the City) which they consented to receive for the job. I should not have minded it if it had been twice as much. Two dollars a day is dog-cheap for such dog's work. But the self-stultification of taking it would have been cheap at a million.

Arrived at Worcester, I found the streets alive with people curious to know whereunto this thing would grow. There were two Conventions, one in the Town Hall, to which (from the necessity of the case) none were admitted but Delegates and Reporters, and the other under a Tent on the Common, over which the Hon. S. C. Phillips presided, to which the whole world and all the rest of mankind were welcome. This last was immensely attended and very enthusiastic, and held together well all day. The other, however, was the chief centre of interest as the one which was to determine whether there was to be a show of resistance made to Slavery by Massachusetts. I am indebted to you for my admission to the *Penetralia*, for it was only as Reporter for the best Weekly Paper in New York that I got in. It was literally true, as I went in no other capacity, and here you have the result of my labours. The Hall was entirely full, there being more than a thousand delegates present. It was a curious *pot-pouri* of parties. The names of Vice-Presidents, as they were called over, put me in mind of what was once said in Faneuil Hall, that Politics, like Misery, brought men acquainted with strange bed-fellows. Old Whigs, Free Soilers, Liberty Party men that went back to the times when Free Soil was not, Know-Nothings, and a Democrat or two, by way of garnish, all stirred up together, made an entertaining and I hope it will prove a wholesome mixture. If they have really come together from these distant quarters of the political world for the purpose of uniting in an honest crusade against Slavery, I am sure I rejoice at it, and I will not be the one to open old scores. But it all depends on their behaviour. Mr. Banks, of Congress, was made President, an office for which he is eminently fitted by nature and experience, as Speaker of our House of Representatives, and who is supposed to have a good chance of the same office at Washington. Not much was done in the morning except to appoint the opening of the afternoon session for taking an informal ballot for Governor. The main interest of the Meeting could not be got at.

During the interval between the sessions, there was no lack of electioneering. Distributors of votes were on every side with ballots containing the names of the principal candidates. But the friends of Governor Gardner seemed to be the most active and officious. These were by no means confined to members of the Convention. A prominent Democratic partisan of Worcester, I was assured, was busy in distributing votes for Gardner; and on being asked how it happened, he candidly confessed that he was helping Gardner as the most effectual service he could do Beach, the candidate of the Democrats and the Liquor-sellers. In which he unquestionably showed his sagacity, if not his consistency. While the Committee were counting the votes, in the afternoon, Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr., offered the Address and Resolutions, which are admirably drawn and furnish the best platform for a political party ever put together in this country, and without the smell of twaddle about it. I believe the word Union, which, like the word Accommodate, was a good word enough until it was ill-sorted, does not appear once in the whole production. And, what was rememberable, it was accepted without amendment and by a unanimous vote. Of course, you will let your readers see it. When this was done, the Committee reported the result of the Informal Ballot, which was that Mr. Gardner had 449 votes; Mr. Rockwell, 305; Mr. J. W. Foster, 122; Judge Hoar, 45; and J. D. Elliott, 9. This preponderance in favour of Gov. Gardner made his opponents look rather blue, as it would require the fusion of nearly all the rest to defeat him. And the hopes of his friends were proportionably excited. One of the most innocent of them proposed that Gov. Gardner, as he led the list, should be nominated by acclamation! But the acclamation seemed to be all on the other side, and the proposition fell to the ground amid derisive shouts and laughter.

But soon afterwards the entertainments of the evening commenced in good earnest. It was obviously necessary for the merits of candidates and of delegates to be gone into. So Mr. Brigham, of Boston, rose and stated that nineteen of the Boston delegation had signed a call for a Convention to be held in Boston on the 2d of October, and he wanted to know if they and their candidate came here in good faith, to abide by the result of that Meeting, or whether, if the man they preferred was passed by, they and he would feel free to go into another Convention to defeat the objects of this one. This brought up a Mr. Brewster, of Boston, who tried to claim for Gov. Gardner the credit of originating the new Republican Party, because he made a suggestion of the sort at the United States Hotel, in Boston, though he did not press it, out of deference to his friends. Gov. Gardner had told him that he did not think any one had any question as to how he stood on the Slavery question, &c. But no word as to the main point, whether Gov. Gardner would regard himself as estopped from taking the nomination of another Convention, if he failed in getting that of this. Then came the Report of the Committee on Credentials, which showed that the delegates of four towns were sent by some kind of Lodges and not by meetings open to men of all parties, and that two others had double delegations, one chosen in open meetings and the other in closed ones. Of course, it recommended the rejection of all who were not chosen in primary meetings open for all who chose to come in. This fair and just recommendation was received with great confusion and finally laid upon the table, in the eagerness to get at the discussion and the balloting. So all these spurious delegates voted the next time, and all, of course, for Gardner. When this was done, Mr. Griffin, of Charlestown, rose and went into the merits of Gov. Gardner and the arguments of his advocate. Of course, it was not hard to demolish what had scarcely a name to live. He shook the cane the Governor has lately received from California over his head, saying that one of the donors was one Berry, a fugitive from Massachusetts justice, "blistered all over with indictments," whom His Excellency ought to be pursuing as a criminal rather than treating as a man by whose good opinion he was honoured. His speech was exceedingly caustic and severe, and was received with alternate gusts of cheers and hisses.

Mr. Dana next took the platform and made a killing speech for the hopes of poor Gov. Gardner, which was rather unkind, in view of the fact that the Governor was the only man converted by his Speech in favour of Judge Loring. Mr. Dana did not go into any personal questions, at all. He merely showed the suicidal folly the Convention would commit should it nominate a man who was not identified with the party they had just inaugurated, who might, finally, take the nomination of another party if he were, or if he were not, nominated by them. As no one would pledge the Governor to abide by the decision of the Convention, his Speech must have had great weight. But what settled the business was a letter from Governor Gardner himself, which was called for as one pledging him to acquiesce in the action of the Convention. It was produced by Mr. Sheriff Clark, of Boston, who said he would read a portion of it. "All or none!" was the cry. However, the Sheriff read quite enough for the purpose. It was as follows:

"It is earnestly urged upon me to write a letter that if, in good faith, I should allow my friends to propose my name as a candidate for Governor by the Republican Convention, I will never consent to allow my name to be used against its nominee. That is the honest course, and I favour it; *but I will not move till I advise at home.*"

You may well imagine that this Epistle was received with shouts of laughter, though men hardly seemed able to believe their own ears. The Balloting then took place and resulted in the nomination of Julius Rockwell, of Pittsfield, the numbers being, Rockwell, 426; Gardner, 395, and a few scattering. The result was received with the most enthusiastic cheers, which lasted for a long time. It was a scene of extraordinary jubilation. The other nominations were then made by acclamation, being the present occupants, except Mr. E. R. Hoar, for Attorney-General, in the place of Mr. Clifford, whom Gov. Gardner accepted as a bequest from the Whigs, and Mr. Williams, of Boston, for Secretary of State, in place of Mr. Wright, retiring of his own choice. The nomination of Mr. Rockwell was made unanimous, or so declared, with a very few dissentient voices. The friends of Mr. Gardner, it must be allowed, behaved well. They submitted, if not with a good grace, without factious opposition to the *fiat* of the Convention. Even poor Sheriff Clark, of whom it has since been said, he was the first Sheriff that ever *executed a Governor* (he certainly read his Death Warrant), even he indorsed the nomination as made, and Mr. Foster, the Grand Sachem (or whatever it is) of the Massachusetts Know-Nothings, went cordially for it. Other congratulatory speeches were made and the Meeting separated, as they say at Camp-Meeting, "*shouting-happy!*"

I have no room for remark on this event. I hope it will turn out well enough to go into history. One good thing is that the *Post* and other Democratic papers are foaming at the mouth with rage, seeming to be tormented before their time. This is a good sign. How the Whigs, called of men *Straight*, are going to behave, I can tell better next time I write. These things I must pass by, as well as the Women's Rights Convention, the Horticultural Show, and sundry other matters I have *in petto*. But they, like John Quincy Adams, "can wait."

D. T.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th mo. 24th, 1855.

MANY of the readers of THE STANDARD will have seen an article in *The New York Tribune* upon the inefficiency and subserviency of the Philadelphia Press, as conspicuously displayed by its behaviour in the Williamson affair. No one is readier than your correspondent to admit the general unworthiness of the press of this city, nor beholds with more pain the ignominious contrast that it makes with the best portion of the press of New York. Yet, while I hail any judicious effort, in any quarter, to shame our brethren of the quill into a position worthy of the city which they misrepresent, I doubt whether general and indiscriminate censure is calculated to advance this praiseworthy object.

Though not one of our papers occupies on the prominent topics of the day a position approaching in independence that held by *The Tribune*, and *The Evening Post*, or even *The New York Times*, in the discussions arising out of the Passmore Williamson case, *The Daily Sun* of this city has taken a stand not inferior in dignity, though perhaps less potent in influence, to that assumed by *The Tribune* itself. Other papers have, from the first, battled earnestly for State and individual rights, borne down by the cohorts of our despotic Central Government. *The Saturday Evening Post*, *The Sunday Dispatch* and *The Sunday Mercury*, and, I am told, the Know-Nothing organ, *The Daily Times*, have done good service. *The North American*, our leading commercial paper, it is true, preserved for a long time an unaccountable silence, so far as its editorial voice was concerned. But its columns have always been open to the most outspoken condemnation of our pro-slavery Judges. Several very able reviews of Judge Kane's decision appeared immediately after its publication, and *The Tribune* copied some of them with commendation. A series of very able articles, extracted from *The Friends' Review*, and emanating from the pen of one of the most eminent lawyers of Chester County, formed, in the opinion of those well qualified to judge, the most thorough and annihilating ventilation which the foul issue from Judge Kane has undergone. The same author, J. J. L. (Joseph J. Lewis, no relation, intellectually and morally, of Chief Justice Lewis), has since performed the same work upon Judge Black's decision, and with equal success. Within a few weeks, the editorial columns have contained two or three very able articles, indulging, it is true, in some uncalled for flings at Abolitionists. Though, at the first blush, the contemporaneousness of their appearance with the Hegira of our Southern merchants and the advent of our Western dealers may excite suspicions that the Trinity of our Church of Mammon, "the Golden Eagle, the Silver Dollar and the Copper Cent," has inspired them, I think these suspicions are not well-grounded. The articles already alluded to forbid this supposition. *The Ledger*, and all of the avowed Democratic journals, deserve the full measure of contempt which *The Tribune* metes out to the press generally. Enough, however, of apology or defence, of an institution of our city that so rarely deserves either.

A most healthy agitation is going on all round our country. We are holding meetings nearly every day in the rural districts around Philadelphia, and the people come and listen gladly. Abstract principles are not readily grasped by the great mass of men; but when they see them incarnated in the person of Passmore Williamson, and that incarnation lying in a loathsome dungeon, the quick instincts of the heart outrun the cool deductions of reason, and every one not smothered in cotton responds to the voiceless appeal which he makes. All classes of anti-slavery men are at work, and voting Abolitionists are more than busy in canvassing for Passmore Williamson for Canal Commissioner. He will unquestionably get the vote of every voting Abolitionist in the State, and not a few non-voters will find it hard to resist the temptation, "for this once." *The North American* puts out a feeler or two towards a fusion upon him, but I apprehend that the election is too close at hand to permit a thorough amalgamation of the Anti-Administration elements. It is not, however, impossible. Leading Know-Nothings are openly out in his favour. I venture to say that no political party in Pennsylvania has lately presented a man to the people better qualified by incorruptible integrity and eminently practical talents for the position for which he is a candidate.

We have been so thoroughly absorbed in the Williamson case of late, that all other concerns, have been neglected. Let me make amends. We have been for the last few days in a most decided Masonic excitement. Not Barnum's Baby-Shows seem to have called out "all the world and his wife" more completely than has the opening of the New Masonic Hall in Chesnut street. Externally, the building is far from pleasing to me, but the decorations of the various lodges and encampments are as elegant specimens of fresco painting as I have ever seen. Much more elaborate and costly work have I seen in European palaces and churches, but for elegance and exquisite taste I find nothing to surpass them.

While on the subject of Art, let me refer to a portrait of our Mayor, R. T. Conrad, which Sartain has just published. When I say that it is in the best style of the elder Sartain's mezzotint, those acquainted with this Artist will need nothing further. We have seen so many execrable specimens of this style of engraving in some of our milk-and-water monthlies that it is refreshing to look upon a picture like this. It is intended, in some sort, to be a commemoration of an important era in our municipal history, viz., the consolidation of the disjointed corporations into one municipality. The portrait, therefore, is of R. T. Conrad, not as poet or judge, but as first Mayor of the consolidated City of Philadelphia.

C.

P. S. A writ has been issued to-day, returnable in the United States Circuit Court, instituting an action for damages against Passmore Williamson for the value of the property lost to Mr. Wheeler by his interference.

C.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th mo. 24th, 1855.

You know that we Pennsylvanians are fond of boasting of our inexhaustible mineral and agricultural wealth. In truth, I think that our never-ceasing, never-changing song must have become rather tedious to outsiders, for I must confess that a change in the bill seemed desirable to some of the performers.

The case of Passmore Williamson, though in most respects excessively distressing to the "friends of law and order," has this redeeming feature, that it has revealed a perfect Captain Kidd's treasure of intellectual brilliancy and judicial acumen. I need not tell you that the name of Jeffreys no longer blazes with undimmed lustre in the pages of history since those of Black and Kane have taken their place at its side. But even the discovery of these precious jewels does not measure the extent of our new-found wealth. Fiction has heretofore supplied us with the choicest specimen of legal wisdom and judicial sagacity, and Dogberry has heretofore found no rival; but that worthy must now abdicate in favour of Judge Lowrie, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. You have, ere this, seen, and without doubt carefully read, his very lucid decision in the Williamson case. That potent weapon of logic, the *argumentum non sequitur*, applied with such wonderful power and success by the immortal Dogberry, acquires additional brilliancy under the hands of Judge Lowrie. The skill with which the learned Judge, in the first part of his decision, shows that the rights of Passmore Williamson have been grossly disregarded, that Judge Kane had no shadow of a claim to jurisdiction, and that the Supreme Court of the State might release the prisoner, and in the last part draws from these premises the conclusion that the prisoner should be held until he makes terms with the Court, has awakened my most profound admiration. Judge Lowrie has at one stride stepped into the ranks of the great men of our time.

There are those in this community, seemingly envious of his fame, who are disposed to underrate the sagacity which he has displayed, and who even urge, by way of depreciating it, that he was two weeks in preparing his decision. They seem to forget that even great men are not superior to the occult planetary and stellar influences. Genius even might hesitate to make its appearance under a waning star, and hence this remarkable document was ushered into being under a waning moon.

I have intimated that there are those who seem incapable of appreciating the intellectual power exhibited by Judge Lowrie. I am sorry to say that I have met many of this perverse class. I may tell you, as a secret (for if it were generally known, my reputation as a friend of law and order might suffer), that I mingle a good deal with Garrisonians, Free Soilers, advocates of Woman's Rights, &c., and it is among these that I find the greatest opposition to my efforts to sustain Judge Lowrie, though I must be candid enough to say that it is by no means confined to this class.

My most earnest endeavours have resulted in not a single convert, and I find myself precisely in the position of a French teacher in Germantown, who complained that after ten years of unceasing labour, he had not succeeded in inducing the inhabitants to abandon their harsh and barbarous mother tongue for the more euphonious and cultivated French, and that even there he found very few to whom he could make himself understood.

To show you how sorely my patience is tried by these fanatics, let me relate one or two incidents, taken at random from my diary—for, like one of the witnesses in the Still, Ballard and Curtis case, I take note of remarkable occurrences.

I had been eloquently and convincingly, as I thought, establishing the logical sequence and perfect consistency of the Judge's position, when my friend (?) interrupted me, saying, "The truth is, Smith, the decision reminds me of the worm fence of which I once read. It was so crooked that a hog, breaking through, found himself sorely puzzled upon looking round and discovering he was on the side from which he started."

I am a patient man. I can bring ten nurses of crying babies, seven juvenile practisers upon untuned pianos, eight grinders of asthmatic organs and one collector of newspaper subscriptions due and unpaid, to testify that I have borne all their inflictions with an unruffled temper; but *this* was too much for me, and, to save the recording angel a lachrymal effusion, I beat a precipitate retreat.

Scarcely had I recovered my equanimity, when I encountered another of these fanatics, and, not being able to elude him, I put on a bold front and commenced a warm eulogium upon my friend the Judge. Imagine my horror when he, in the coolest manner possible, said, "Why, my dear friend, it's as plain as the nose on a man's face that the Judge is a most admirable 'psychological subject,' and that Kane, Black and Lewis have psychologized him, so that he does not know whether he is a Judge of the Supreme Court or the inquisitor general of Spain." And this position he sought to fortify by quoting from the decision those passages in which the Judge refers to his impressibility, such as, "I have an impression," "I have a strong impression," "I am forcibly impressed," "I have been unable to discover," &c., &c. Would you have supposed it possible for any one to have been so bitten with the tarantula of the *isms* as to dream that three Judges of our Supreme Court and one Federal Judge should have condescended to dabble in such vulgar things as Mesmerism and Psychology?

But I have no heart to say more on this melancholy phase of my subject. If you have any consolation to offer, hasten to send it to your afflicted

JOHN X. SMITH.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 24th, 1855.

To the Editors of The Standard.

THE occurrence of events such as the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson are way-marks by which we may guage the growth of anti-slavery feeling, and understand precisely what obstacles we have to overcome before slavery may be abolished. It is a test by which we may arrive at a knowledge of the character of men in regard to whom we have hitherto been in doubt. In itself, it is not a greater outrage upon humanity than many that have preceded if in the history of anti-slavery effort. It appears more formidable, and malignant in its design, merely because of the stand-point from which it is viewed by the majority of persons interested. The boldness that is attributed to this aggression of the Slave Power arises simply from the fact that it is a more palpable home-thrust at the rights of the free white man of the North than any that has gone before it. It is not that the people who are now aroused to indignation in regard to this matter are any more convinced of the sinfulness, the immitigable wrong of slavery than they were before, but it is merely because it now threatens to interfere with their rights, to strike down, in its progress, those barriers of freedom which they have hitherto considered impregnable, that they begin to talk about checking its inroads.

Judge Kane, by his villany, has undoubtedly placed before the American people the question at issue between Slavery and Freedom in a more intelligible aspect than it has ever before assumed to them. Hitherto it has been a question involving the rights of others; now it touches those most cherished by themselves. For instance, in regard to the annexation of Texas, however much feeling may have been exhibited for the time in opposition to that measure, the Northern mind was soon satisfied with and acquiesced in it, because, according to their understanding of the matter, it affected no one seriously except the "niggers." They did not feel it to be an encroachment upon their rights, simply because it did not sensibly affect their pockets. On the contrary, they saw in it the means of harmonizing those opposing interests which threatened the existence of that Union which represented to them the greatest of all possible interests, Cotton and Dollars. So in regard to the Fugitive Slave law. By Mr. Webster and all the other great "expounders" it was proved to be no violation of the rights of the North to make them catch runaway slaves, and that the performance of such a duty was absolutely necessary to place the commercial interests of the North on a proper footing with the South.

When the Nebraska scheme was proposed, it would seem that the Northern people first began to doubt whether the most effectual way of filling their pockets consisted in giving up every thing to the South, morally, politically and commercially. The opinion then doubtfully expressed is now almost confirmed into a certainty, when they see a man deprived of the power to *make money*, in consequence of imprisonment for an act which the most indifferent among them would have performed under favourable opportunities, without a doubt as to its legality. Now, if it had been a black man, a hod-carrier, or porter, who was thrown into prison, it would not have made so much difference. But for a white man, who is doing a good business, to be deprived of the power of pursuing that business, this indeed is a blow struck at the liberties of the people, that is not to be tolerated.

Suppose, for one moment, one of our wealthy and respectable merchants — one of those gentlemen who think Mr. Williamson's conduct ill-timed—had been on board that boat, and, for the time, forgetting that he was a merchant, and remembering only that he was a man, had told Jane precisely what Mr. W. told her, do you not see what the consequences would have been? At this time one of our wealthiest and most respectable citizens would be a resident of "Moyamensing's gloomy cells." The thought is too horrible for contemplation. Let us try to think of it as a thing that could not happen under any circumstances.

One might suppose, on hearing some of our political (and non-political also) friends talk, that the North is now thoroughly aroused, and that the next Congress is going to impeach Judge Kane, repeal the Nebraska Act, send the Fugitive Bill, with its projectors and executors, howling to the pit from whence they came, and settle the question of slavery generally.

This is certainly a very comfortable way of looking at the future; and I would not wantonly cast a damper on such prospects. If we can frighten the Devil of Slavery into concessions by such talk, well and good; only let us be careful that we do not deceive ourselves at the same time. It seems rational that the first step toward accomplishing our object is to understand exactly the extent of the evil to be removed, and the difficulties to be encountered and overcome in its removal. Now, any one who considers calmly, for one moment, the nature of slavery in itself, and particularly in its relation to our country, the way in which it is incorporated into all our institutions, civil, religious, political and educational, must be convinced that it will require efforts of no ordinary character to bring about its destruction. Revolutions do not take place in a day, especially when the prejudices and supposed interests of the people are opposed to the object to be gained. Certainly there is nothing in the history of the American people for the last thirty years which gives any ground for the supposition that they are prepared to take even the preliminary step of impeaching Judge Kane, at least for some time to come. When it is impossible to induce men in this city (who profess, privately, opposition to Kane) to take the necessary measures for an indignation meeting, in regard to his conduct, I do not see much reason to suppose that they will be ready to move in the matter of his impeachment. The truth is, I think, that, for some length of time, Kane does not stand in much danger of losing his position. His social standing is local entirely, and he apparently has as many friends now as he had before. Even men who do not acquiesce in his course, by any means, find it convenient and agreeable to remain on terms of closest intimacy with him. While this is the case, he will not suffer much socially. Politically, his position cannot be affected until a radical change takes place in the minds of a majority of the people all over the country. The South only deserts her tools after they cease to be of use to her. Such was the case with Webster. It was evident that, both from age and incapacity, he could do nothing more for slavery; therefore it was that the South gave him the cold shoulder. Not so with Kane and others of like ilk. In years, he is comparatively young; while in the disposition and capacity to do the dirty work of slavery, none can surpass him. Hence, while they have any thing for him to do, and he has the will to perform it, which will be during his natural life, they will never let him suffer for want of office of some kind.

I have it on the best authority that Judge Black said, in reference to his decision, that "it would give thirty thousand votes to the party called Republican in this State, but it would break up the Know-Nothings." This seems to shed a little light on the subject. These men coolly calculated how many consciences, by their act of infamy, would be aroused sufficiently to drive their possessors from the old parties into the party of Freedom. They knew that, as the Know-Nothing party was composed of Whigs and dissatisfied Democrats, the deserters in this case would be from that party, and thus the Democrats would be able to ride into power over the heads of the other two parties. This appears to be the Political Programme as at present agreed upon; how it will terminate, time alone will determine. It and kindred schemes are sufficient to show that the sacrifice of one Passmore Williamson is not enough to satisfy the insatiate maw of slavery, or rouse the indignation of the North. But the days are coming when such men will be needed all over the land, and God grant that the supply may be equal to the demand.

R.

THE REVIVAL OF EDUCATION. An Address to the Normal Association, Bridgewater, Mass., Aug. 8, 1855. By SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse.

We have here an exceedingly interesting sketch, historical and personal, of the great movement for a Reform in the System of Common Schools, which, during the last thirty years, has enlisted the energies of many of the most enlightened, philanthropic and public spirited citizens of our country. Mr. May himself has been a zealous and devoted labourer in this cause, and he modestly intimates that, "in narrating the conflicts and woes of the friends of education for the last thirty years," he might say, in the words of Æneas to Dido, "all of which I saw, and part of which I was." Certainly the personal reminiscences and experiences here disclosed lend a delicious flavour to a discourse in every way so admirably adapted to the occasion on which he was called to speak. The reader will see, from the extract on our fourth page, that Mr. May did not shrink from pointing out the important bearings of education upon the reforms with which he has been so long and so usefully identified.

SIGN OF PROGRESS. — One thousand Sunday School Teachers from Boston have been in New York several days of this week, on a visit to the public institutions of the city, and for the purpose of meeting and consulting the Sunday School Teachers in New York and Brooklyn. On Tuesday morning 1,700 children from the Orphan Asylums were assembled to meet these Boston teachers in the Crystal Palace. The inmates of the Coloured Orphan Asylum were admitted with the rest, and Dr. Smith made an address, in which he gave an interesting sketch of the history and progress of the institution. As soon as Mr. Smith sat down, Mr. Hoyt, of Boston, the chairman, quickly sprang upon the platform, and shouted "Citizens of Massachusetts, do you believe, from the specimen that has just left the platform, that the adult coloured population are able to take care of themselves?" "Yes," "yes," resounded from every part of the audience, followed by loud and prolonged applause.

THE PRO-SLAVERY SPIRIT IN KANSAS is not by any means confined to Stringfellow and his ruffian gang. It even pervades and controls the so-called Free State party. See the resolutions of that party on the first page, wherein, while they avow their purpose to resist the authority of the sham Legislature, they yet propose to enact a code of Black Laws as infamous as any statute passed by that conclave of men-stealers and cut-throats. Our Kansas correspondent has often told us that the so-called anti-slavery party in that Territory was rotten at the core, and now the charge is demonstrated by its own official conduct. What can such a party do for freedom? If it even triumphs over Stringfellow, Atchison & Co., what permanent and solid good will accrue? Can Satan cast out Satan?

THE SCOURGE of yellow fever still continues at Norfolk and Portsmouth, the number of deaths relative to population scarcely diminishing from week to week. Large sums have been contributed in various places for the relief of the sick and afflicted. The details of suffering are frightful, but it is hoped that the autumnal frosts, by purifying the atmosphere, will check the ravages of the fever.

The same disease is also prevailing in New Orleans and vicinity. The number of deaths from this cause in this city, down to the 17th inst., was 3,193. The disease is also very fatal in the villages and on the plantations in the neighbourhood.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 592, closes the Xth volume of the second series of this invaluable work. Its contents evince, as usual, the excellent judgment and taste of the editor. New York: 343 Broadway; Philadelphia, 140 Chestnut street.

PORTRAIT OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.—We call attention to the advertisement of Mr. Thos. Curtis, of Philadelphia, informing the public that he is about to publish a portrait of the man whom the infamous Kane has made the tenant of a prison for informing an American mother and her children of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania. Many of our readers, we think, will be eager to possess a likeness of the man whose manly and heroic spirit they so much admire.

THE Whig and Republican Conventions, held at Syracuse on Wednesday, united in the nomination of a ticket for State officers. No room for particulars this week.

Summary.

A RELIGIOUS BLACKSMITH.—The Salem (Mass.) *Gazette* says the following notice may be seen at a blacksmith's shop in Essex: "*No Hosses shod on Sunday except sickness or death.*"

WHALEBONE.—The Boston *Post* assures its readers that the aisles in all public buildings, and the sidewalks on the highways, are to be widened, to admit the passage of the ladies with their new-fashioned skirts. Several gentlemen have moved out of the city, to allow their wives and daughters room to turn round.

A MAN OF ELEVATED VIEWS.—The *Zion's Herald* gives an account, in a letter received from the Pacific ocean, of a revival of religion on board a whale ship. In the account, says the *Herald*, is one thing of unusual occurrence, "One man was hopefully converted at mast-head; looking out for whales!"

MODERATE DRINKER AND DRUNKARD.—The difference between these two we once heard compared to the difference between a pig and a hog. Gough's definition, however, we like better. A moderate drinker *can* stop, but *won't*. A drunkard is one who *would* stop, but *can't*. The Maine Law must help him, or there is no help for him.

A YOUNG LADY KILLED BY A NEGRESS. — The Richmond *American* has a letter from Raleigh, N. C., dated Sept. 16, which says: "On yesterday morning, a beautiful young lady, Miss Virginia Frost, daughter of Austin Frost, an engineer on the Petersburg and Weldon Railroad, and residing in this city, was shot by a negro girl, and killed instantly. Cause—reproving her for insolent language."

VERMONT. — The Vermont *Watchman* classifies the newly elected Senators of that State as 26 Republican, 3 Know-Nothings, and 1 Democrat, viz., Mr. Horace Wardsworth, of Grand Isle County, who will have the exclusive honour of representing the straight Democracy in the next Senate. The House is nearly seven-eighths Know-Nothings and "Republicans."

MEETING OF SLAVEHOLDERS. — The slaveholders of Henderson County held a meeting at Henderson, Ky., on the 27th ult., to take some steps as to the security of slaves in that County. After some remarks from Hon. Archie Dixon, a league was formed, rules for its government adopted, and a committee of managers selected. All the slaveholders in the County were invited to join the league.

BARNUM gives notice of baby shows in Lowell, Worcester, Providence, Hartford, Conn., Pittsburg, Penn., Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, and all the large cities in the United States and Canada, as soon as arrangements to that end can be perfected; and Josiah Perham announces that henceforth he will hold a coloured baby show in each town, and on the same date as Barnum and Col. Wood hold theirs.

SLAVEHOLDERS' CONVENTION. — *Emancipation in Kentucky.*—It has been proposed to us, by several gentlemen who own slaves in Kentucky, that they (the slaveholders) hold a convention at Frankfort, to adopt some plan for the abolition of slavery, and that we so announce it; and that Hon. W. H. Luke, of Pendleton County, a slaveholder, be appointed by the friends of the convention as one in this part of the State to draw up a proposition for its gradual abolition.—*Newport (Ky.) News.*

IMPORTANT INVENTION.—Mr. Samuel Weed, of Middlesex, Mass., has invented a machine for making printers' types, embossing and embellishing types of all descriptions, of steel, iron, brass, copper and type metal, at an expense, it is said, less than that of types made in the ordinary mode of casting, and in a more perfect manner. The editor of the *Middlesex Journal* says he has seen specimens of the types, and he considers the invention one of the most important of the age.

A former slave of General Washington, named Richard Stanup, or Stanhope, lives at Urbana, Ohio, at the good old age of 108 years. He has in his possession the original papers giving him his freedom, in General Washington's own handwriting, for which he was refused quite a sum of money. He owns about one hundred acres of land some ten miles north of the village of Urbana, bought with money given him by his illustrious master. He is now living with his sixth wife, and, to all appearances, enjoying life as well as the youngest.

REV. JOHN PIERPONT, of Medford, Mass., the distinguished poet and Unitarian preacher, who was reported in yesterday's *Evening Post* and to-day's *Times* as dangerously ill at his residence, has nearly recovered, and is now in this city seeking rest and recreation. He attended Rev. Mr. Longfellow's (second Unitarian) church, Brooklyn, on Sunday morning last, but could not preach, under advice of his physician; and in the evening of that day he was present at the installation services of Rev. Mr. Frothingham, at the Unitarian church, Jersey City.—*Evening Post*, 26th.

A PICTURE.—A writer in the Baton Rouge (La.) *Gazette*, speaking of the insolence of negro girls to their owners, as well as others, says: "The chief cause of this is that there are too many white men among us who live with negro girls. Such men, throughout the South, we have no doubt, are great auxiliaries to Abolitionists: (!!) for men who will lead that life, must necessarily become attached to those with whom they live and make them their confidants. Some are slaves, and in some instances will even wash and cook for them, while their fair 'Desdemonas' are reclining gently on a couch. The picture is not overdrawn—such men live among us."

AMERICAN RELIGIONS.—Kenneth Rayner, in a late speech, is reported to have said: "Give us American politics and American religion." To which the Terre Haute (Ind.) *Journal* rejoins: "We don't know of any American religion, except Mormonism, Shakerism, and Millerism. These are native American religions. The Christian religion, we believe, is of foreign origin, and its founder not a native of America."—*Investigator.*

We know of another kind—a *slaveholding religion*. And that is the kind that Kenneth Rayner and his associates are especially in love with, and, besides, it is exclusively and preeminently "*American.*"—*A. S. Bugle.*

INTERESTING WEDDING PARTY.—In our list of marriages this evening, we report a wedding at which the venerable Dr. Lowell officiated. We are informed that additional interest was imparted to the services from the fact Dr. Lowell, more than forty years since, married the father and mother of each of the parties. He also christened the bride in her infancy, and five of her brothers and sisters, all of whom were present. In the company were five couples, whom the Doctor married, several if not the most of whom are grand-parents. It was remarked that while the aged minister was thus surrounded by friends of three generations, he was about the youngest man in the party.—*Boston Transcript.*

A VALUABLE INVENTION BY A COLOURED MAN.—The Philadelphia *Sun* says Aaron Roberts, a coloured man in that city, has invented a most valuable aid to the Fire Department. It is constructed on the principle of a telescope, occupying a very small space when closed, but capable of being extended to a height of some sixty feet, by means of concealed cogs. Above this is a branch pipe, made flexible, and worked in any direction by chains reaching to the ground. The machine can be run into a narrow alley, or any confined space, and, by attaching a hose to a fire-plug, the water will be forced to the top, and thence directed at the pleasure of the operator. Complete safety is thus afforded to the firemen, and instant application may be made to any part of a burning building.

A FULL-BLOODED AMERICAN.—Tim Mullowney, a jolly-looking tar, with the richest of brogues, applied at the Custom House, the other day, for "purtection" as an American citizen. He was asked for his naturalization papers. "Me nateral papers, is it, your honour wants," said Tim with an insinuating grin, "an' me a full-blooded American?"

"You don't mean to say that you were not born in Ireland?"

"Born in Ireland," replied Tim. "Sure I was. But thin, your honour, I kem from Cork to New Orleans last summer, an' there the bloody-minded muskeeters run their bills into every inch of me, an' sucked out every drop of my Irish blood, good luck to 'em, an' now I'm a full-blooded American."

There was some philosophy, as well as fun, in this reasoning, but it had no effect, and the last that was seen of Tim he was on his way to the City Hall, to look for "the man who sells the nateral papers."

PROVIDING HIS OWN TOMB-STONE.—Seth Hinshaw, a well-known reformer, of eccentric habits, residing at Greensboro, Henry Co., Indiana, writes to the editor of the Indianapolis *State Journal* as follows:

Respected Friend, R. Vale: I have procured a marble tombstone for myself, engraved as follows:

SETH HINSHAW,
A PROGRESSIVE
SPIRITUALIST:
BORN,
2d month, 14, 1787.
LEFT THE MORTAL BODY, ——

The date of my leaving the mortal body is left to be added after I am gone. I have it standing up in my store, in plain view. When people ask me why I procure it beforehand, I tell them I delight in looking at it; and, moreover, I fear if I leave it for others to procure after I am gone, they might not get it right; perhaps they would omit the *progressive Spiritualist*, or they might have it say, died at such a time; and I do not like the word die, but I shall leave the mortal body. I have got the victory over death and the grave; I fear them not.

SETH HINSHAW.

A SPECIMEN OF ATCHISON TOLERATION.—The following is a beautiful specimen of the

Miscellaneous Department.

AN ACCURSED RACE.

We have our prejudices in England. Or if that assertion offends any of my readers, I will modify it. We have had our prejudices in England. We have tortured Jews; we have burnt Catholics and Protestants, to say nothing of a few witches and wizards. We have satirised Puritans, and we have dressed up Guys. But, after all, I do not think we have been so bad as our Continental friends. To be sure our insular position has kept us free, to a certain degree, from the inroads of alien races; who, driven from one land of refuge, steal into another equally unwilling to receive them; and where, for long centuries, their presence is barely endured, and no pains is taken to conceal the repugnance which the natives of "pure blood" experience towards them.

There yet remains a remnant of the miserable people called Cagots in the valleys of the Pyrenees; in the Landes near Bourdeaux; and, stretching up on the west side of France, their numbers become larger in Lower Brittany. Even now, the origin of these families is a word of shame to them among their neighbours; although they are protected by the law, which confirmed them in the equal rights of citizens about the end of the last century. Before then they had lived, for hundreds of years, isolated from all those who boasted of pure blood, and they had been, all this time, oppressed by cruel local edicts. They were truly, what they were popularly called, The Accursed Race.

All distinct traces of their origin are lost. Even at the close of that period which we call The Middle Ages, this was a problem which no one could solve; and as the traces, which even then were faint and uncertain, have vanished away one by one, it is a complete mystery at the present day. Why they were accursed in the first instance, why isolated from their kind, no one knows. From the earliest accounts of their state that are yet remaining to us, it seems that the names which they gave each other were ignored by the population they lived amongst, who spoke of them as Crestiaa, or Cagots, just as we speak of animals by their generic names. Their houses or huts were always placed at some distance out of the villages of the country-folk, who unwillingly called in the services of the Cagots as carpenters, or tilers, or slaters—trades which seemed appropriated by this unfortunate race—who were forbidden to occupy land, or to bear arms; the usual occupations of those times. They had some small right of pasturage on the common lands, and in the forests; but the number of their cattle and live stock was strictly limited by the earliest laws relating to the Cagots. They were forbidden by one act to have more than twenty sheep, a pig, a ram, and six geese. The pig was to be fattened and brilled for winter food; the fleece of the sheep was to clothe them; but, if the said sheep had lambs, they were forbidden to eat them. Their only privilege arising from this increase was, that they might choose out the strongest and finest in preference to keeping the old sheep. At Martinmas the authorities of the commune came round, and counted over the stock of each Cagot. If he had more than his appointed number they were forfeited; half went to the commune, and half to the baillie, or chief magistrate of the commune. The poor beasts were limited as to the amount of common land which they might stray over in search of grass. While the cattle of the inhabitants of the commune might wander hither and thither in search of the sweetest herbage, the deepest shade, or the coolest pool in which to stand on the hot days, and lazily switch their dappled sides, the Cagot sheep and pig had to learn imaginary bounds, beyond which if they strayed, any one might snap them up, and kill them, reserving a part of the flesh for his own use, but graciously restoring the inferior parts to their original owner. Any damage done by the sheep was fairly appraised, and the Cagot paid no more for it than any other man would have done.

Did a Cagot leave his poor cabin, and venture into the towns, even to render services required of him in the way of his trade, he was bidden by all the municipal laws to stand by and remember his rude old state. In all the towns and villages in the large districts extending on both sides of the Pyrenees—in all that part of Spain—they were forbidden to buy or sell anything eatable, to walk in the middle (esteemed the better) part of the streets, to come within the gates before sun-rise, or to be found after sun-set within the walls of the town. But still, as the Cagots were good-looking men, and (although they bore certain natural marks of their caste, of which I shall speak by-and-by) were not easily distinguished by casual passers-by from other men, they were compelled to wear some distinctive peculiarity which should arrest the eye; and, in the greater number of towns, it was decreed that the outward sign of a Cagot should be a piece of red cloth sewed conspicuously on the front of his dress. In other towns, the mark of Cagoterie was the foot of a duck or a goose hung over their left shoulder, so as to be seen by any one meeting them. After a time, the more convenient badge of a piece of yellow cloth, cut out in the shape of a duck's foot, was adopted. If any Cagot was found in any town or village without his badge, he had to pay a fine of five sous and to lose his dress. He was expected to shrink away from any passer-by, for fear that their clothes should touch each other; or else to stand still in some corner or bye-place. If they were thirsty during the day which they passed in these towns where their presence was barely suffered, they had no means of quenching their thirst, for they were forbidden to enter into the little cabarets or taverns. Even the water gushing out of the common fountain was prohibited to them. Far away, in their own squalid village, there was the Cagot fountain, and to drink of any other water was forbidden to the Cagoterie. A Cagot woman having to make purchases in the town, was liable to be flogged out of it if she went to buying anything except on a Monday—a day on which all other people who could, kept their houses for fear of coming in contact with the accursed race.

In the Pays Basque, the prejudices—and for some time the laws—ran stronger against the Cagots than any which I have hitherto mentioned. The Basque Cagot was not allowed to possess sheep. He might keep a pig for provision, but his pig had no right of pasturage. He might cut and carry grass for the ass, which was the only other animal he was permitted to own; and this ass was permitted because its existence was rather an advantage to the oppressors, who constantly availed themselves of the Cagot's mechanical skill, and were glad to have him and his tools easily conveyed from one place to another.

They were repulsed by the State. Under the small local governments they could hold no post whatsoever. And they were barely tolerated by the Church, although they were good catholics, and zealous frequenters of the mass. They might only enter the churches by a small door set apart for them, through which no one of the pure race ever passed. This door was low, so as to compel them to make an obeisance. It was occasionally surrounded by sculpture, which invariably represented an oak-branch with a dove above it. When they were once in, they might not go to the holy water used by others. They had a benitier of their own; nor were they allowed to share in the consecrated bread when that was handed round to the believers of the pure race. The Cagots stood afar off, near the door. There were certain boundaries—imaginary lines—on the nave and in the aisles which they might not pass. In one or two of the more tolerant of the Pyrenean villages, the blessed bread was offered to the Cagots, the priest standing on one side of the boundary, and giving the pieces of bread on a long wooden fork to each person successively.

When the Cagot died, he was interred apart, in a plot of burying-ground on the north side of the cemetery. Under such laws and prescriptions as I have described, it is no wonder if he was generally too poor to have much property for his children to inherit; but, certain descriptions of it were forfeited to the commune. The only possession of his which all who were not of his own race refused to touch, was his furniture. That was tainted, infectious, unclean—fit for none but Cagots.

When such were, for at least three centuries, the prevalent usages and opinions with regard to this oppressed race, it is no wonder that we read of occasional outbursts of ferocious violence on their part. In the Basses-Pyrenees, for instance, it is only about a hundred years since that the Cagots of Rehouilhes rose up against the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Lourdes, and got the better of them, by their magical powers, as it is said. The people of Lourdes were conquered and slain, and their ghastly bloody heads served the triumphant Cagots for balls to play at nine-pins with! The local parliaments had begun by this time to perceive how oppressive was the ban of public opinion under which the Cagots lay, and were not inclined to enforce too severe a punishment. Accordingly, the decree of the parliament of Toulouse condemned only the leading Cagots concerned in this affray to be put to death, and that henceforward and forever no Cagot was to be permitted to enter the town of Lourdes by any gate but that called Capdet-pourtet: they were only to walk under the rain-gutters, and neither to sit, eat, or drink in the town. If they failed in observing any of these rules, the parliament decreed, in the spirit of Shylock, that the disobedient Cagots should have two stries of flesh, weighing never more than two ounces each, cut out from each side of their spines.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, it was considered no more a crime to brill a Cagot than to destroy obnoxious vermin. A "nest of Cagots," as the old accounts phrase it, had assembled in a deserted castle of Mauvezin, about the year sixteen hundred; and certainly the made themselves not very agreeable neighbours, as they seemed to enjoy their reputation of magicians; and, by some acoustic secrets which were known to them, all sorts of moaning and groanings were heard in the neighbouring forests, very much to the alarm of the good people of the pure race; who could not cut off a withered branch for firewood, but some unearthly sound seemed to fill the air, or drink water which was not poisoned, because the Cagots would persist in filling their pitchers at the same running stream. Added to these grievances, the various pilferings perpetually going on in the neighbourhood made the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and hamlets believe that they had a very sufficient cause for wishing to murder all the Cagots in the town of Mauvezin. But it was surrounded by a moat, and only accessible by a drawbridge; besides which, the Cagots were fierce and vigilant. Some one, however, proposed to get into their confidence; and for this purpose he pretended to fall ill close to their path, so that on returning to their stronghold they perceived him, and took him in, restored him to health, and made a friend of him. One day, when they were all playing at nine-pins in the woods, their treacherous friend left the party on pretence of being thirsty, and went back into the castle, drawing up the bridge after he had passed over it, and so cutting off their means of escape into safety. Then, going up to the highest part of the castle, he blew upon a horn, and the pure race, who were lying in wait on the watch for some such signal, fell upon the Cagots at their games, and slew them all. For this murder I find no punishment decreed in the parliament of Toulouse, or elsewhere.

As any intermarriage with the pure race was strictly forbidden, and as there were books kept in every commune in which the names and habitations of the reputed Cagots were written, these unfortunate people had no hope of ever becoming blended with the rest of the population. Did a Cagot marriage ever take place, the couple were serenaded with satirical songs. They also had minstrels, and many of their romances are still current in Brittany; but they did not attempt to make any reprisals of satire or abuse. Their disposition was amiable, and their intelligence great. Indeed it required both these qualities, and their great love of mechanical labour, to make their lives tolerable.

At last they began to petition that they might receive some protection from the laws; and towards the end of the seventeenth century, the judicial power took their side. But they gained little by this. Law could not prevail against custom: and, in the ten or twenty years just preceding the first French revolution, the prejudice in France against the Cagots amounted to fierce and positive abhorrence.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Cagots of Navarre complained to the Pope that they were excluded from the fellowship of men, and accused by the Church, because their ancestors had given help to a certain Count Raymond of Toulouse in his revolt against the Holy See. They entreated his holiness not to visit upon them the sins of their fathers. The pope issued a bull—on the thirteenth of May, fifteen hundred and fifteen—ordering them to be well-treated and to be admitted to the same privileges as other men. He charged Don Juan de Santa Maria of Pampeluna to see to the execution of this bull. But Don Juan was slow to help, and the poor Spanish Cagots grew impatient, and resolved to try the secular power. They accordingly applied to the cortes of Navarre, and were opposed on a variety of grounds. First, it was stated that their ancestors had had "nothing to do with Raymond, Count of Toulouse, or with any such knightly personage; that they were in fact descendants of Gehazi, servant of Elisha (second book of Kings, fifth chapter, twenty-seventh verse), who had been accursed by his master for his fraud upon Naaman, and doomed, he and his descendants, to be lepers for evermore. Name, Cagots or Gahets; Gahets, Gehazites. What can be more clear? And if that is not enough, and you tell us that the Cagots are not lepers now; we reply that there are two kinds of leprosy, one perceptible and the other imperceptible, even to the person suffering from it. Besides, it is the country talk, that where the Cagot treads the grass withers, proving the unnatural heat of his body. Many credible and trustworthy witnesses will also tell you that if a Cagot holds a freshly-gathered apple in his hand it will shrivel and wither up in an hour's time as much as if it had been kept for a whole winter in a dry room. They are born with tails; although the parents are cunning enough to pinch them off immediately. Do you doubt this? If it is not true, why do the children of the pure race delight in sewing on sheeps' tails to the dress of any Cagot who is so absorbed in his work as not to perceive them? and their bodily smell is so horrible and detestible that it shows that they must be heretics of some vile and pernicious description, for do we not read of the incense of good workers, and the fragrance of holiness?

Such were literally the arguments by which the Cagots were thrown back into a worse position than ever, as far as regarded their rights as citizens. The pope insisted that they should receive all their ecclesiastical privileges. The Spanish priests said nothing, but tacitly refused to allow the Cagots to mingle with the rest of the faithful, either dead or alive. The accursed race obtained laws in their favour from the Emperor Charles the Fifth; but there was no one to carry these laws into effect. As a sort of revenge for their want of submission and for their impertinence in daring to complain, their tools were all taken away from them by the local authorities; an old man and all his family died of starvation, being no longer allowed to fish.

They could not emigrate. Even to remove their poor mud habitations, from one spot to another, excited anger and suspicion. To be sure, in sixteen hundred and ninety-five, the Spanish government ordered the alcaldes to search out all the Cagots, and to expel them before two months had expired, under pain of having fifty ducats to pay for every Cagot remaining in Spain at the expiration of that time. The inhabitants of the villages rose up and flogged out any miserable Cagots who might be in their neighbourhood; but the French were on their guard against this enforced irruption, and refused to permit them to enter France. Numbers were hunted up into the inhospitable Pyrenees, and there died of starvation, or became a prey to wild beasts. They were obliged to wear both gloves and shoes when they were thus put to flight, otherwise the stones and herbage they trod upon, and the balustrades of the bridges that they crossed, would, according to popular belief, have become poisonous.

And all this time there was nothing remarkable or disgusting in the outward appearance of this unfortunate people. There was nothing about them to countenance the idea of their being lepers—the most natural mode of accounting for the abhorrence in which they were held. They were repeatedly examined by learned doctors, whose experiments, although singular and rude, appear to have been made in a spirit of humanity. For instance, the surgeons of the king of Navarre, in sixteen hundred, bled twenty-two Cagots, in order to examine and analyze their blood. They were young and healthy people of both sexes; and the doctors seem to have expected that they should have been able to extract some new kind of salt from their blood which should account for the wonderful heat of their bodies. But their blood was just like that of other people. Some of these medical men have left us an account of the general appearance of this unfortunate race, at a time when they were more numerous and less intermixed than they are now. The families existing in the south and west of France, who are reputed to be of Cagot descent at this day, are, like their ancestors, tall, largely made, and powerful in frame; fair and ruddy in complexion, with grey-blue eyes, in which some observers see a pensive heaviness of look. Their lips are thick, but well-formed. Some of the reports name their sad expression of countenance with surprise and suspicion—"They are not gay, like other folk." The wonder would be if they were. Dr. Guyon, the medical man of the last century who has left the clearest report of the health of the Cagots, speaks of the vigorous old age they attain to. In one family alone, he found a man of seventy-four years of age; a woman as old, gathering cherries; and another woman, aged eighty-three, was lying on the grass, having her hair combed by her great-grandchildren. Dr. Guyon and other surgeons examined into the subject of the horribly infectious smell which the Cagots were said to leave behind them, and upon everything they touched; but they could perceive nothing unusual on this head. They also examined their ears, which, according to common belief (a belief existing to this day), were differently shaped to those of other people; being round and gristly, without the lobe of flesh into which the ear-ring is inserted. They decided that most of the Cagots whom they examined had the ears of this round shape; but they gravely added, that they saw no reason why this should exclude them from the good-will of men, and from the power of holding office in church and state. They recorded the fact, that the children of the towns ran baaing after any Cagot who had been compelled to come into the streets to make purchases, in allusion to this peculiarity of the shape of the ear, which bore some resemblance to the ears of the sheep as they are cut by the shepherds in this district. Dr. Guyon names the case of a beautiful Cagot girl, who sang most sweetly, and prayed to be allowed to sing canticles in the organ-loft. The organist, more musician than bigot, allowed her to come; but the indignant congregation, finding out whence proceeded that clear fresh voice, rushed up to the organ-loft, and chased the girl out, bidding her "remember her ears," and not commit the sacrilege of singing praises to God along with the pure race.

But this medical report of Dr. Guyon's—bringing facts and arguments to confirm his opinion, that there was no physical reason why the Cagots should not be received on terms of social equality by the rest of the world—did no more for his clients than the legal decrees promulgated two centuries before had done. The French held with Hudibras, that—

> He that's convinced against his will
> Is of the same opinion still.

And, indeed, the being convinced by Dr. Guyon that they ought to receive Cagots as fellow-creatures only made them more rabid in declaring that that they would not. One or two little occurrences which are recorded prove that the bitterness of the repugnance to the Cagots was in full force in the time just preceding the first French revolution. There was a M. d'Abedos, the curate of Lourdes, and brother to the seigneur of the neighbouring castle, who was living in seventeen hundred and eighty; he was well-educated for the time, a travelled man, and sensible and moderate in all respects but that of his abhorrence of the Cagots; he would insult them from the very altar, calling out to them, as they stood affar off, "Oh! ye Cagots, damned for evermore!" One day, a half-blind Cagot stumbled and touched the censer borne before this Abbé de Lourdes. He was immediately turned out of the church, and forbidden ever to reënter it. One does not know how to account for the fact, that the very brother of this bigoted abbé, the seigneur of the village, went and married a Cagot girl; but so it was, and the abbé brought a legal process against him, and had his estates taken from him, solely on account of his marriage, which reduced him to the condition of a Cagot, against whom the old laws were still in force. The descendants of this Seigneur de Lourdes are simple peasants at this very day, working on the lands which belonged to their grandfather.

This prejudice against mixed marriages remained prevalent until very lately. The tradition of the Cagot descent lingered amongst the people long after the laws against the accursed race were abolished. A Breton girl, within the last few years, having two lovers, each of reputed Cagot descent, employed a notary to examine their pedigrees, and see which of the two had least Cagot in him; and to that one she gave her hand. In Brittany the prejudice seems to have been more virulent than anywhere else. M. Emile Souvestre records proofs of the hatred borne to them in Brittany so late as eighteen hundred and thirty-five. Just lately a baker at Hennebon, having married a girl of Cagot descent, lost all his custom. The godfather and godmother of a Cagot child became Cagots themselves by the Breton laws, unless, indeed, the poor little baby died before attaining a certain number of days. They had to eat the butchers' meat condemned as unhealthy; but, for some unknown reason, they were considered to have a right to every cut loaf turned upside down, with its cut side towards the door, and might enter any house in which they saw a loaf in this position, and carry it away with them. About thirty years ago, there was the skeleton of a hand hanging up as an offering in a Breton Church near Quimperle, and the tradition was, that it was the hand of a rich Cagot who had dared to take holy water out of the usual benitier, some time at the beginning of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, which an old soldier witnessing, he laid in wait, and the next time the offender approached the benitier, he cut off his hand, and hung it up, dripping with blood, as an offering to the patron saint of the church. The poor Cagots in Brittany petitioned against their opprobrious name, and begged to be distinguished by the appellation of Malandrins. To English ears one name is much the same as the other, as neither conveys any meaning; but, to this day, the descendants of the Cagots do not like to have this word applied to them, preferring the term Malandrin.

The French Cagots tried to destroy all the records of their pariah descent, in the commotions of seventeen hundred and eighty-nine; but if writings have disappeared, the tradition yet remains, and points out such and such a family as Cagot, or Malandrin, or Oiselier, according to the old terms of abhorrence.

There are various ways in which learned men have attempted to account for the universal repugnance in which this well-made, powerful race are held. Some say that the antipathy to them took its rise in the days when leprosy was a dreadfully prevalent disease; and that the Cagots are more liable than other men to a kind of skin disease, not precisely leprosy, but resembling it in some of its symptoms; such as dead whiteness of complexion, and swelling of the face and extremities. There was also some resemblance to the ancient Jewish custom in respect to lepers, in the habits of the people; who, on meeting a Cagot, called out, "Cagote? Cagote?" to which they were bound to reply, "Perlute! perlute!" Leprosy is not properly an infectious complaint, in spite of the horror in which the Cagot furniture, and the cloth woven by them, is held in some places; the disorder is hereditary, and hence (say this body of wise men, who have troubled themselves to account for the origin of Cagoterie) the reasonableness and the justice of preventing any mixed marriages, by which this terrible tendency to leprous complaints might be spread far and wide. Another authority says, that though the Cagots are fine-looking men, hard-working, and good mechanics, yet that they bear in their faces, and show in their actions reasons for the detestation in which they are held; their glance, if you meet it, is the jettatura, or evil eye, and they are spiteful, and cruel, and deceitful above all other men. All these qualities they derive from their ancestor Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, together with their tendency to leprosy.

Again, it is said that they are descended from the Arian Goths, who were permitted to live in certain places in Guienne and Languedoc, after their defeat by King Clovis, on condition that they abjured their heresy, and kept themselves separate from all other men forever. The principal reason alleged in support of this supposition of their Gothic descent, is the specious one of derivation—Chiens Gots, Cans Gots, Cagots, equivalent to Dogs of Goths.

Again, they were thought to be Saracens, coming from Syria. In confirmation of this idea, was the belief that all Cagots were possessed by a horrible smell. The Lombards, also, were an unfragrant race, or so reputed among the Italians: witness Pope Stephen's letter to Charlemagne, dissuading him from marrying Bertha, daughter of Didier, King of Lombardy. The Lombards boasted of Eastern descent, and were noisome. The Cagots were noisome, and therefore must be of Eastern descent. What could be clearer? In addition, there was the proof to be derived from the name Cagot, which those holding the opinion of their Saracen descent held to be Chiens, or Chasseurs des Gots, because the Saracens chased the Goths out of Spain. Moreover, the Saracens were originally Mahometans, and as such obliged to bathe seven times a-day: whence the badge of the duck's foot. A duck was a water bird: Mahometans bathed in the water. Proof upon proof!

In Brittany the common idea was, they were of Jewish descent. Their unpleasant smell was again pressed into the service. The Jews, it was well known, had this physical infirmity, which might be cured either by bathing in a certain fountain in Egypt—which was a long way from Brittany—or by anointing themselves with the blood of a Christian child. Blood gushed out of the body of every Cagot on Good Friday. No wonder, if they were of Jewish descent. It was the only way of accounting for so portentous a fact. Again; the Cagots were capital carpenters, which gave the Bretons every reason to believe that their ancestors were the very Jews who made the cross. When first the tide of emigration set from Brittany to America, the oppressed Cagots crowded to the ports, seeking to go to some new country, where their race might be unknown. Here was another proof of their descent from Abraham and his nomadic people; and, the forty years' wandering in the wilderness and the Wandering Jew himself were pressed into the service to prove that the Cagots derived their restlessness and love of change from their ancestors, the Jews. The Jews also practised arts-magic, and the Cagots sold bags of wind to the Breton sailors, enchanted maidens to love them—maidens who never would have cared for them unless they had been previously enchanted—made hollow rocks and trees give out strange and unearthly noises, and sold the magical herb called bonsucces. It is true enough that, in all the early acts of the fourteenth century, the same laws apply to Jews as to Cagots, and the appellations seem used indiscriminately; but their fair complexions, their remarkable devotion to all the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, and many other circumstances, conspire to forbid our believing them to be of Hebrew descent.

Another very plausible idea is, that they are the descendants of unfortunate individuals afflicted with goitres, which is, even to this day, not an uncommon disorder in the gorges and valleys of the Pyrenees. Some have even derived the word goitre from Got, or Goth; but their name, Crestiaa, is not unlike Cretin, and the same symptoms of idiotism were not unusual among the Cagots; although sometimes, if old tradition is to be credited, their malady of the brain took rather the form of violent delirium, which attacked them at new and full moons. Then the workmen laid down their tools, and rushed off from their labour to play mad pranks up and down the country; perpetual motion was required to alleviate the agony of fury that seized upon the Cagots at such times. In this desire for rapid movement, the attack resembled the Neapolitan tarantella; while in the mad deeds they performed during such attacks, they were not unlike the northern Berserker. In Bearn especially, those suffering from this madness were dreaded by the pure race; the Bearnais, going to cut their wooden clogs in the great forests that lay around the base of the Pyrenees, feared above all things to go too near the periods when the Cagoutelle seized on the oppressed and accursed people; from whom it was then the oppressors' turn to fly. A man was living within the memory of man, who had married a Cagot wife; he used to beat her right soundly when he saw the first symptoms of the Cagoutelle, and, having reduced her to a wholesome state of exhaustion and insensibility, he locked her up until the moon had altered her shape in the heavens. If he had not taken such decided steps, say the oldest inhabitants, there is no knowing what might have happened.

From the thirteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, there are facts enough to prove the universal abhorrence in which this unfortunate race was held; whether called Cagots, or Gahets in Pyrenean districts, Caqueaux in Brittany, or Vaqueros in Asturias. The great French revolution brought some good out of its fermentation of the people; the more intelligent among them tried to overcome the prejudice against the Cagots.

In seventeen hundred and eighteen, there was a famous cause tried at Biarritz relating to Cagot rights and privileges. There was a wealthy miller, Etienne Arnauld by name, of the race of Gotz, Quagotz, Bisigotz, Astragotz, or Gahetz, as his people are described in the legal document. He married an heiress, a Gotte (or Cagot) of Biarritz; and the newly-married well-to-do couple saw no reason why they should stand near the door in the church, nor why he should not hold some civil office in the commune, of which he was the principal inhabitant. Accordingly, he petitioned the law that he and his wife might be allowed to sit in the gallery of the church, and that he might be relieved from his civil disabilities. This wealthy white miller, Etienne Arnauld, pursued his rights with some vigour against the Baillie of Labourd, the dignity of the neighbourhood. Whereupon the inhabitants of Biarritz met in the open air on the eighth of May, to the number of one hundred and fifty; approved of the conduct of the Baillie in rejecting Arnauld, made a subscription, and gave all power to their lawyers to defend the cause of the pure race against Etienne Arnauld—"that stranger," who, having married a girl of Cagot blood, ought also to be expelled from the holy places. This lawsuit was carried through all the local courts, and ended by an appeal to the highest court in Paris; where a decision was given against Basque superstitions; and Etienne Arnauld was thenceforword entitled to enter the gallery of the church.

Of course the inhabitants of Biarritz were all the more ferocious for having been conquered; and, four years later, a carpenter, Miguel Legaret, suspected of Cagot descent, having placed himself in church among other people, was dragged out by the abbé and two of the jurats of the parish. Legaret defended himself with a sharp knife at the time, and went to law afterwards; the end of which was that the abbé and his two accomplices were condemned to a public confession of penitence to be uttered while on their knees at the church door, just after high mass. They appealed to the parliament of Bourdeaux against this decision, but met with no better success than the opponents of the miller Arnauld. Legaret was confirmed in his right of standing where he would in the parish church. That a living Cagot had equal rights with other men in the town of Biarritz seemed now ceded to them; but a dead Cagot was a different thing. The inhabitants of pure blood struggled long and hard to be interred apart from the abhorred race. The Cagots were equally persistent in claiming to have a common burying-ground. Again the texts of the old Testament were referred to, and the pure blood quoted triumphantly the precedent of Uzziah the leper (twenty-sixth chapter of the second book of Chronicles), who was buried in the field of the Sepulchres of the Kings, not in the sepulchres themselves. The Cagots pleaded that they were healthy and able-bodied; with no taint of leprosy near them. They were met by the strong argument so difficult to be refuted, which I have quoted before. Leprosy was of two kinds, perceptible and imperceptible. If the Cagots were suffering from the latter kind, who could tell whether they were free from it or not? That decision must be left to the judgment of others.

One sturdy Cagot family alone, Belone by name, kept up a lawsuit claiming the privilege of common sepulture for forty-two years; although the curé of Biarritz had to pay one hundred livres for every Cagot not interred in the right place. The inhabitants indemnified the curate for all these fines.

M. de Romagne, Bishop of Tarbes, who died in seventeen hundred and sixty-eight, was the first to allow a Cagot to fill any office in the Church. To be sure, some were so spiritless as to reject office when it was offered to them, because, by so claiming their equality, they had to pay the same taxes as other men, instead of the Rancale or poll-tax levied on the Cagots; the collector of which had also a right to claim a piece of bread of a certain size for his dog at every Cagot dwelling.

Even in the present century it has been necessary, in some churches, for the archdeacon of the district, followed by all his clergy, to pass out of the small door previously appropriated to the Cagots in order to mitigate the superstition which, even so lately, made the people refuse to mingle with them in the house of God. A Cagot once played the congregation at Larroque tricks suggested by what I have just named. He slily locked the great parish-door of the church while the greater part of the inhabitants were assisting at mass inside; put gravel in the lock itself, so as to prevent the use of any duplicate key—and had the pleasure of seeing the proud pure-blooded people file out, with bended head, through the small low door used by the abhorred Cagots.

We are naturally shocked at discovering, from facts such as these, the causeless rancour with which innocent and industrious people were so recently persecuted. Gentle reader, am I not rightly representing your feelings? If so, perhaps the moral of the history of the accursed races may be best conveyed in the words of an epitaph on Mrs. Mary Haud, who lies buried in the churchyard of Stratford-on-Avon.

> What faults you saw in me,
> Pray strive to shun;
> And look at home: there's
> Something to be done.

—*Household Words.*

COUNSEL FOR TEACHERS.

From Samuel J. May's Address before the Normal Association, Bridgewater, Mass., Aug. 8th, 1855.

Many of you, my young friends, have already entered, or are about to enter, upon the great work of educating the children of men. The office of a teacher is second only, in its importance and sacredness, to that of a parent. The Church and the State are the offspring of the family. Never, therefore, will our bodies politic and bodies ecclesiastic become what they ought to be until our bodies domestic are well ordered—the children obedient and respectful to their parents, and considerate of each other's rights and feelings, living in peace and love. "Young America" (as our body politic is now flippantly named)—an irreverent, profane, headlong, roistering fellow—shows plainly enough what a deficiency there is in our country of parental wisdom and authority. Schools are needed, therefore, not only that children may enjoy the quickening influences of companionship and emulation in their studies, but also that they may receive instruction in the sciences, which too few parents are competent to give; and a wholesome moral discipline, which too many parents do not understand, or neglect to maintain.

The first duty of the teacher is to lead his pupils *to think*, to observe and reflect on what they observe; to listen to the monitor that is placed in their bosoms, and consider reverently what they are required to do and what to forbear. Children should be led to use their own powers and opportunities for the acquisition of all knowledge, especially the knowledge of God and his laws. The teacher should be to his pupils, whatever may be their age, not so much a dictator as a guide. The charm, the exceeding excellence of Colburn's method of teaching Arithmetic is that it leads pupils to observe, and to state distinctly what is self-evident to themselves of the powers and relations of numbers, and to advance as they may, in the exercise of their own faculties, from the most obvious and elementary to the discovery of the higher and higher arithmetical truths. The same rational method should be pursued in the teaching of all other sciences, not excepting the science of man and the science of God. We are prepared to accept intelligently, and to use wisely, the revelations of truth on any subject, that have been made to other minds, only when we have well considered and defined the revelations made to our own minds. God hath never left himself without witness to any of the children of men. There is a law written by his finger upon the heart of each one; and by considering that law, every child may be led, in some measure, to discover how wise and holy that Being must be who inscribed it there. But teachers too seldom take the pains necessary to lead their pupils to listen to the witnesses of God, which they have in their own souls. It is to be deplored that, in primary instructions on all subjects, most teachers depend so much upon books, treatises and manuals. These contain records of what other minds have discovered, reports of results to which other minds have come. Often they are invaluable, and should be communicated in due time and in the proper place. But, in every instance, that communication should be preceded by a careful survey and thorough consideration by the pupil himself of all the truth which is within the immediate reach of his own perceptions. I have long been persuaded that the first processes of teaching should be those by which the youngest pupils may be led to the exercise of their own senses, in discovering knowledge, and to the consultation of their own moral instincts and intuitions, in ascertaining what is right. There was a deep meaning in the words of the Great Teacher, when he took little children in his arms and blessed them, saying, "of such is the kingdom of Heaven"—"their angels do always behold the face of my Father in Heaven."

Who does not know how the great moral questions that now agitate our country, and about which our ablest statesmen seem to be bewildered, would be settled if left to the decision of the moral intuitions of unsophisticated children? What child, not corrupted by his education, would not decide instantly that one man can have no right to hold another man as his property, and regard and treat him as a domesticated brute? What child, not corrupted, would not instantly discern and condemn with loathing the traffic in intoxicating drinks; the civil and social dependence and depression of the female sex; the horrid custom of war; the impositions which are too common in trade; and every kind of violation of the Golden Rule? Nay, how quickly and how wisely would unperverted children determine, could they understand, the questions of Theology that have so long divided the Church, and perplexed the grave Doctors of Divinity.

No one should venture into a school as its teacher who has not a reverence for the spirit that is in the youngest child; who does not deeply feel that he is about to deal with that which *partakes of the divine*. He may find it, in some instances, already perverted by the mismanagement of its earlier guardians, or by untoward influences that preceded even its birth; but he should know that in itself there resides the recuperative power, which alone can restore spiritual health. To that he should know how to appeal, that he may bring the instrument into harmony again. If he lays upon it rudely the hand of power, he may aggravate the discord of the harp of a thousand strings. Only by touching, in the spirit of love, that part of the nature of a child that is *in tune* may he reasonably hope to restore the whole to harmony. Let all teachers go into their schools in the spirit of him who felt that he was sent especially to seek and to save *the lost*. Not upon the bright, beautiful, tractable, intelligent children should teachers (as they will be continually tempted to do) allow their particular regards to fasten. Such children have already been favoured enough, in the circumstances of their birth, natural temperament, and condition in life. They will need, in school, only the ordinary attentions and inducements to study and to subordinate themselves to wholesome rules. It is the intellectual imbeciles, the spiritual cripples, the morally insane, who need and should receive the especial care of teachers. More or fewer of these—or individuals who are suffering in a greater or less degree under these infirmities—will be found in every school. And these infirmities may be coëxistent with some admirable powers of mind, some excellent affections and holy aspirations. The great art of the school teacher is to gather these infirm ones in his arms, and carry them in his bosom; help them over the rugged passes that might wound or weary them; at the same time conciliating the approval and the generous coöperation of the healthy and strong in aid of the weak. "I say unto you," are the words of the greatest of Teachers, "I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." These heavenly precepts should govern every act of those who have the charge of wayward, perverse, rebellious children. It is the spirit which dictated them that alone can subdue and reclaim a wicked child. I mean not now to raise the question of corporal punishment, to deny utterly the necessity of this dreadful expedient. I cannot, at this late moment, open the discussion of the question of school discipline. Let me only say, that no treatment of a child that is not prompted by and cannot be administered in the spirit of love will benefit him. He or she who can govern a school thoroughly well without blows, or angry words, possesses most of the art of governing. My estimation of the qualifications of any one for the office of a school teacher declines directly as the amount of corporal punishment used by him or her increases. And he or she who cannot keep children in good order, well and happily employed, without the daily or the very frequent exercise of the rod, the ferule, or some other kind of violence, is unfit to take the care of children, either as a teacher or a parent, and ought not to profane, by assuming, either office.

> "Oh, woe for those who trample on a mind,
> That deathless thing! They know not what they do,
> Nor what they deal with! Man perchance may bind
> The flower his step hath bruised; or light anew
> The torch he quenches; or to music wind
> Again the lyre-string, from his touch that flew.
> But for the soul! Oh tremble and beware
> To lay rude hands upon God's mysteries there."

PROVERBS OF THE TARTARS OF THE CRIMEA.

A German traveller who has visited Moscow gives an interesting account of a collection of manuscripts relating to the Crimea, which are preserved in that city in the Library belonging to the Holy Synod. One of these manuscripts, in particular, he deems especially worthy of attention. It is written by one Parmen Petrowitsch Boldyrew, and is neither more nor less than an account of a tour in the Chersonese, with such descriptions of the country, the people, their customs, and their appearance, as is perfectly common in our modern tourist literature; but this, however, it gives which is not common—a long list of proverbs and apothegms collected by the author during his residence among the Tartars of the Crimea. The name Tartar he applies indiscriminately to all the dwellers on the peninsula, although it appears that a distinction ought to be made between the Crim-Tartars and the Nogai-Tartars, who are very different from each other, although both dwelling together in the same part of the country.

The short pithy sayings of a people, containing, as they always do, some practical hint, mark more decidedly than aught beside the bent of that people's mind, and the degree of moral as well as mental culture to which it has attained. Proverbs are more significant in this respect than even songs; for these are called forth on the spur of the moment, and accord with the temporary emotions inspired by some exciting event; and may, therefore, bear an impress of nobleness which the nation generally may perhaps be very far from possessing. A proverb, however, is conceived in no moment of excitement or exultation, but in a calm state of mind, when the understanding only is appealed to. Being of general application, too, not intended merely for this decennium or that popular cause, it is impossible that any save those which have taken firm root in the minds of the people can exist at all. Like the simple medicinal remedies in use among the peasantry, their efficiency, as well as facility of application prevent them from ever being forgotten.

The German traveller above referred to, Julius Altmann, observes, that as the Tartars, especially those of the Crimea, were nearly related, both in race and language, to the Turks, and, moreover, at various periods were more or less closely connected with them, it is not to be wondered at if these proverbial sayings occasionally have so Turkish an air, that they might pass muster even as the product of Stamboul. Our traveller observes, further, that if none are to be found indicative of hatred towards Russia, we are not on that account to suppose that such feeling does not exist. The Tartar in the Crimea, indeed, has hardly a more abusive phrase than "Sen Orus"—Thou art a Russian; or, "Sen Kosak"—Thou art a Cossack; which at once shows what feelings he cherishes for the Muscovite. The censorship of the Russian press accounts for the fact that no anti-Russian sentiments are found in this proverbial philosophy of the Chersonese.

The following have been gleaned from the larger collection:

But yesterday, and thou atest the water-melon; to-day, eating melons, thou hast already forgotten the water-melon's taste.

He who will pass the ford, must not mind wading.

What cares the sick man for mare's milk? What cares he who is parched for *bosa* (beer made of millet) when he is drinking at the spring?

Allah allows the crop to fail of him who leaves nothing for the birds to glean.

Lamb, go not to the wolf's dwelling; cock, go not to the abode of the kite.

The house of the sultan lives in the month of him who has cast but a glance at Stamboul.

Desirest thou the hurricane? then praise the calm.

He who has suffered shipwreck, speaks no longer of the beauty of the sea.

We first fell the plantain, and then praise its shade.

Bald though the hawk be, he yet pufferh himself up.

The lass with the black locks lost the comb; the old woman with a bald head found it.

When you have no pole to knock down the peach from the tree, you say, "It is sour."

Every fir is not a cedar, but each thinks itself one.

When the poor man is made judge, it is time for the rich to quit the community.

The neighbourhood of the palm, near which the mushroom grows, is relationship in the eyes of the latter.

One man bores into the turpentine-tree with his knife; another draws the oil in the stone-jar.

For the first wish, a single camel sufficeth; for the second, not the whole herd were enough.

If